

CEDRIC DOVER
HALF
CASTLE

With a Preface on Prejudices by
LANCELOT HOGBEN

Pride lives with all ; strange names our rustics give
To helpless infants, that their own may live.
Crabbe.



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FOR
URSULA LUBBOCK
(MRS. ADRIAN GRANT DUFF)
WHO SCOLDED A LITTLE AND ENCOURAGED SO MUCH

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A VAST SIMILITUDE INTERLOCKS ALL.

Walt Whitman.

The cock's crow does not bring the dawn of day,
But the cock crows because the day is dawning.

Imre Maddch.

PREFACE ON PREJUDICES

BY LANCELOT HOGBEN

IN this book Cedric Dover issues a vigorous challenge to deep-seated prejudices and widespread superstitions.

By itself that is no commendation. The best of us have prejudices and the wisest of us harbour superstitions. To blame us for having them is as foolish as to blame us—individually—for catching whooping-cough at the age of eighteen months. For my part I am not ashamed to admit that I am not favourably disposed to an examination candidate who cannot write legibly, to men who grow beards before they attain the fiftieth decade, or to platinum blondes. I do not choose my friends from footballers, foxhunters, professional musicians, or yachtsmen. I will confess without a blush that I try to avoid (*a*) walking under ladders, (*b*) spilling salt, (*c*) looking at the new moon through the windscreen of my car.

Having disclosed these disabilities, let me hasten to add some extenuating circumstances. I endeavour to give an illegible examinee a fair deal. I do not advocate the disfranchisement of middle-aged men with beards. I do not wish to exclude platinum blondes from the legal or engineering professions. I should not attempt to dissuade any of my friends from marrying a yachtsman or a professional musician. I am in favour of providing for the children of foxhunters and footballers the same educational facilities which I demand for my own children. I regard my reactions to leaning ladders, spilt salt, and new moons seen through glass as peculiarities of my own temperament, and do not expect to persuade anyone else that

One of their more striking conclusions is worthy of citation without further comment.

‘The Blacks’, they state, ‘seem to do better in simple mental arithmetic and with numerical series than the Whites. . . . It seems a plausible hypothesis for which there is a considerable support, that the more complicated a brain, the more numerous its association fibres, the less satisfactorily it performs the simple numerical problems which a calculating machine does so quickly and accurately.’

Since there is as yet no biological knowledge bearing on the social capabilities of different ‘races’, the reader may ask why Cedric Dover’s book concerns me as a professional biologist. The answer to that is twofold. I am an Englishman as well as a scientific worker. As an Englishman I should like to see a high tariff on doctrines which are now popular in Germany and Italy. As an Englishman I also resent any interference with sport or disregard for the rules. The form of sport to which I am most addicted is consequential conversation. I was deprived of it during four years’ sojourn among the *Pigmentocracy* of South Africa by repeated attempts to communicate through the medium of dialogue conducted like this :

Any South African Graduate : If you had lived in this country as long as I have you would know that a native can’t be taught to read or write.

Myself : Have you ever visited Fort Hare Missionary College ?

South African Graduate : Don’t talk to me about missionaries.

Myself : Well, I have. I have seen a class of pure blood Bantu students from the Cis-Kei working out differential equations.

South African Graduate : What would you do if a black man raped your sister ?

As an experimental scientist I only know of one way

of finding out whether mixed marriages are advisable. That is to encourage them where we can assure the offspring the same cultural advantages as children whose parents belong to the same ethnic group. They are doing this at present in the Soviet Union. To some extent it has been done without noticeably disastrous consequences in the British West Indies where, according to my Negro students from St Kitts, there is relatively little nonsense about the 'instinctive' (*sic*) social incompatibility alleged to result from the action of tyrosinase. The most successful parental achievement of which I have had a close-up view was the F.1 generation of a Swede-Bengalee cross. Of three children, the daughter acquitted herself with great credit in the mathematical and economics triposes at Cambridge. A charming lady, she now has a responsible post at Geneva. The eldest son, a lifelong friend of mine, obtained a double first in the natural sciences triposes. He is an extremely handsome, as well as a very congenial, person. Unfortunately the youngest son went to Oxford, where he obtained a first in Greats. I think that his headmaster rather than his parents were to blame for letting him go there.

Cedric Dover does not deal at length with how to make individual mixed marriages a success. Aside from the example cited, in the successful mixed marriages I have known one partner has been a Scot. Maybe this is a portent. For two hundred and fifty years the Scots have been busy educating the English. Naturally they now feel equal to the task of educating anybody. Dogged self-assurance of that sort is a necessary prerequisite for one of the partners in a durable marriage, and in the long run for sane and salutary relations between men and women of all sorts. From whatever angle you look at the colour question you see the same tiresome characteristic for which John Knox discovered the remedy. Scots can manufacture jokes at their own expense because they also believe that education's a grand thing.

The Union of South Africa recently refused a large grant from an American foundation to set up a medical school for the natives on the Rand. General Hertzog does not believe in education. No one could imagine him making a joke about the backveld farmer. One of the most deplorable results of the Versailles Treaty has been completely overlooked in most discussions of ethnic contacts. Under the beneficent Laodiceanism of the English social climate ex-members of the Hebrew branch of respectable British nonconformity had acquired sufficient poise to compete with the Aberdeen output in 'racial' good-humour. Since 1933 decent people can no longer repeat a joke containing a Jew without incurring the charge of 'Anti-Semitism', and there have been no new ones.

That there is as yet no certain scientific knowledge about the cultural capabilities of different communities does not mean that scientific workers have no interest in the issue. Science cannot advance rapidly when people refuse to recognise their prejudices as prejudices. It does advance rapidly when the fullest use is made of the benefits it can bestow. The time will come soon when scientific workers will be forced to choose between two alternatives. One is the social programme of the Fascist States, where pseudo-scientific rationalisations are advanced to withhold social privileges, restrict production, and so deprive science of the stimulus which it derives from expanding industry. The other is the extension of social privileges, the expansion of industry by increasing consumption, and the encouragement of science by offering it new problems and by developing a new awareness of its importance. I believe that those who choose the first will be betraying science and betraying Western culture, of which experimental science is the chief glory.

Which serves the triple purpose of providing a posy for Sherwood Anderson, a clod (of his own digging) for Wyndham Lewis, and an introduction for the reader.

I. SMELLING STRANGENESS

THE 'half-caste' appears in a prodigal literature. It presents him, to be frank, mostly as an undersized, scheming and entirely degenerate bastard. His father is a blackguard, his mother a whore. His sister and his daughter, dressed by Coward and Cochran in a 'shimmering gown', follow the maternal vocation.

But more than all this, he is a potential menace to Western Civilisation, to everything that is White and Sacred and majusculed. Naturally, he gives God-fearing patriots, like the late Mr. Kipling (whose portrait, I must confess, always intrigued me more than his verse), the uncomfortable feeling that their children's teeth may be 'set on edge by bitter bread and wine'. They concede exceptions, of course, but these, like Hitler, have Nordic souls. As Lothrop Stoddard writes with unconscious humour, 'Díaz thought like a white man', though he was a mestizo. Perhaps he did. He was certainly a competent scoundrel, a willing tool of Big Business, who successfully reduced two-thirds of the Mexican population to abject peonage.

Here and there an indignant mongrel or, in the colourful phraseology of the late Editor of the *Eugenics Review*, perhaps some successful 'street arab bastard of a dago stoker', protests feebly that in the eyes of God all Christians at least are equal, that his loyal and Westernised people are better than mere niggers anyway. He succeeds only in giving the impression that they are worse.

And, sporadically, some benign shepherd or shrewdly democratic friend of a hybrid flock echoes the plea for Christian treatment, for 'justice', and even for special consideration. But such appeals to Christian morality are seldom effective. The Bible tempts economic interpretation. In the American slavery conflict, to cite a single case, a torrent of tracts poured out from the sewage of Southern minds justifying bondage on Scriptural grounds, while the Northerners used the same collection of ancient Asiatic folklore to support emancipation. The Northerners, one need hardly add, were more concerned with providing a moral basis for enforcing unity through conquest than with the expansion of brotherly love.

So the tearful squeaks of the afflicted are seldom heard. They have no chance against syndicated xenophobia. For the bourgeois libido is agreeably excited by experts who deposit coloured horrors on the very doorsteps of Balham—licentious buck niggers and sinister celestials menacing Tooting hymens and the security of roast pork and apple-sauce. And white 'superiority' is emphasised by comparison with Bruce's treacherous 'Yewrasians', Somerset Maugham's yellow Malayan hybrids, the Ranee of Sarawak's or Linklater's ludicrous mongrels, and Noël Coward's or John Paris's dangerously seductive half-caste harlots.

Still more effective than this literature of ignorance and abuse is the subtle propaganda of apparently sympathetic writers like Alain Laubreaux (*Mulatto Johnny*), Paul Morand (*Magie Noire*), Carl van Vechten (*Nigger Heaven*), Eugene O'Neill (*Emperor Jones*), Sarah Millin (*God's Stepchildren*), Henry Champly (*White Women, Coloured Men*), and Joan Sutherland (*Challenge*). They stress the frustration *motif*, the futility of coloured life, the sanctity and desirability of white womanhood, the unpardonable crime of intermixture and the nobility of declining to extend it. In *Challenge*, a novel remarkable for its class worship and rationalised viciousness against

Negroes, the son of a Polish prince and a remotely coloured woman retires to a monastery to protect posterity and his ineffectual sweetheart from the pollution of his seed. Hollywood goes one better in a recent Paramount film, *Shanghai*, in which the successful son of a Russian aristocrat and a Manchu princess renounced happiness with an American girl, because even in that cosmopolitan town 'anything goes but *that*'.

By way of contrast, a character in Laurens van der Post's *In a Province* tells the somewhat ridiculous hero that 'every white man who does sleep with a black woman commits a social act of the greatest value. Every white person who sleeps with a black person, merely by suggesting to the rest of the world that it is possible to want to do so, is helping to break down this wicked superstition, is helping incidentally the individual to realise an emotional richness in himself hitherto ignored.' But the author becomes ashamed of this rather repellent outburst, and makes the speaker admit that it is the rationalisation of his own designs on an attractive black girl. The practical result is that of the Sutherland type of propaganda.

David Garnett (*The Sailor Returns* and *Pocahontas*) and William Plomer are almost unique among the better-known novelists in their sympathetic and objective treatment of coloured relations. Plomer evidently believes what he makes a character in *Turbott Wolfe* say: 'Anybody can see plainly that the world is quickly and inevitably becoming a coloured world.' M. R. Anand is also just. He satirises the half-caste, but is not motivated by the petty desire to vilify a people. He recognises the conditioning factors. For example, Mrs. Mainwaring, the Anglophilic Eurasian in *The Coolie*, acquired her attitude through a childhood spent 'among the children of English officials, who were continually talking of "home".' She therefore developed 'a tremendous inferiority complex about her origin . . . she had to pretend to

be "pukka" in order to cope with the snobbery of the other children.' Her sexual behaviour, too, is not presented as an innate characteristic of the hybrid, but as the result of the conflict between natural ardour and the influence of 'the European-Christian doctrine of sin. . . . If her mind had not been reacting against the deep-rooted belief in the sin of sex, she might have had an integrity of character which would have saved her from the onslaughts of all these men, but vacillating between a belief she felt to be wrong and a desire which was continually insistent, she became a bitch to all the dogs that prowled round her bungalow.'

On the whole, however, the literature of race and colour is a literature, one feels, of 'smelling strangeness'

For that inspired fragment of Sherwood Anderson's mildly Impressionist manner, which excites so much of 'the thick, fat *dummheit*' behind the italcasia of Wyndham Lewis's *Paleface*, is perhaps more significant than Mr. Anderson intended. It symbolises the essence of 'the half-caste problem'. Indeed, it is so considerably a problem of smelling strangeness that, with adequate operations on the *Uebermensch*, it might automatically disappear.

It seems to follow, if I may mix the metaphor slightly since I am again indebted to Mr. Lewis, that the supermen 'have been having such a hell of a good time, such a lovely luscious cry, and so much luxurious sob-stuff has been our bath for so long, that to be a little inflexible, and on the cold side, will be a change, at least.'

And it is not only the neo-literati who have been having such a hell of a good time with their sniffing and their crying. Eugenists, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists and politicians have joined in with zest. They have contributed a vast mass of pseudo-science to the more delicate technics of bastard baiting and bluffing, and to the creation of a consciousness of

genetic guilt in the *sang mêlé*. The effects are partly illustrated by a brown dupe of aggrandisement who writes to England's leading welfare journal (*New Health*, June, 1935) to enquire if people with his 'complaint—the result of mixed marriage' can be sterilised. 'I am not too dark', he says pathetically, 'but I dread to think now at 30, should I get married and have children, they might be of much darker colour than I am.'

The Editor's reply is still more instructive. He does not point out, perhaps he does not know, the error of his correspondent's biology. On the contrary, he says it 'is reasonable to ask whether sterilisation could be applied to avoid the possibility of having "coloured" children in the event of marriage . . . but *unfortunately* the law does not permit sterilisation on these grounds. You must, therefore, in the present state of the law, be satisfied with the adoption of birth control measures.' The nervous reader might justifiably interpret this example of reciprocal ineptitude as a grim portent of the future. In fact, the racial bias of the politically controlled eugenic movement does not encourage him to do otherwise.

Evidently a systematic protest, 'a little inflexible and on the cold side', against all this literature of passion and patronage may be regarded not only as a refreshing change, but as an imperative necessity. And it should be supported by a concisely comprehensive review of 'mixed' communities and the factors responsible for their problems. I know of no book that fulfils this function, nor do I claim to have written it. But this collection of essays represents, I hope, a preliminary contribution.

It aims at providing a rapid telescopic view rather than a microscopic dissection. For, in this age of 'self-determination', the near view already obscures the long one. There is a natural tendency, therefore, to regard the results of recent mixture between white and coloured peoples as a series of special and highly

localised problems, and not as a world issue created by Western Protestantism and capitalist 'democracy'.

In using the telescope it is necessary, of course, to apply to it a biological eye, unobscured by concern for the future colour of humanity and the social shibboleths of to-day. I lack the quality of being able to attribute so clear a retina to myself (and for this reason I have frequently subordinated my literary vanity to the quotation mark), but it would appear, according to Lord Olivier and the late Professor Huxley, that I may have an inherited awareness of 'the something that we call Human, which is greater than the one race or the other'. Appreciating, I assure Lord Olivier, 'to the full the rich feast of contemporary English psychology', I have consequently been able to write with some disposition towards indiscreet impartiality and rather less than the usual regard for 'an effeminate controversial technique', which Professor Hogben rightly dismisses as incompatible with 'a vigorous rationalism'.

The defect of this attitude, so superior critics are now fond of urging, is the danger of preaching only to the converted. Nice people, they say, do not tolerate the profanation of cherished totems. But even the converted may sometimes acquire new data if not new ideas, and between them and the unconvertible there is always a growing group ripe for considered heresy. That reflection is the solace of those who have no faith in the efficacy of tactful compromise. But I do not seek the comforts of the revolutionary preacher. I shall be content if this book secures the attention of a serious minority which will, I feel sure, include some representatives of the coloured intelligentsia who can see to-day with the eyes of to-morrow.

That is the limit of my crusading intent.

A glimpse at biological backgrounds: dull work but necessary. It may remind the reader of Bacon's complaint that 'Idola and false conceptions so beset the minds of men' that they are always 'troublesome'.

2. BIOLOGY AND BUMBLEDOM

WE may presently agree that Gold and the Gospels created the 'half-caste problem'. But humanity had been in the melting-pot for unknown millenia before the Iberian adventurers paved the way for Europe to steal the one and dispense the other. The story is fascinating, but largely conjectural. Perhaps our Neanderthal ancestors arose from mixture between the ape-men of the Ice Age. Perhaps our Neolithic prototypes emerged from relations between the Aurignacian invaders of Europe and the local Neanderthals. We shall be content with the knowledge that miscegenation has influenced human evolution from the earliest times, that there has not been a pure race of our species for at least ten thousand years.

Moreover, attempts to restrict further hybridisation have not only failed, but have proved the dysgenic consequences of ethnic arrogance and the deliberate maintenance of large slave groups. The ancient Egyptians wore artificial chin-tufts to emphasise their Mediterranean heritage, but left the Great Sphinx of Gizeh, with its distinctly Negroid features, as the best-known testament to their remarkable achievements. They saw subjection under a flourishing 'mulatto dynasty', of which Tut-Ankh-Amen is a conspicuous example, and eventually succumbed very considerably to Ethiopian infusion. In India, the results of the caste system, associated with the obviously

unsuccessful efforts of the 'Aryan' invaders to safeguard their type from the melanic aborigines, are distressingly evident, while many of the more pathetic anomalies of life in the United States find their source in a somewhat belated pride in the heritage of the *Mayflower*.

But men do not learn from history, perhaps because they do not learn history. They remain optimistically tribal mammals, subdued into irrational herds by shepherds with loud voices. At the same time, however, ethnic mixture continues on a scale that grows more impressive with increased facilities for contacts. It excites the saviours of white civilisation to frequent outbursts of rhetoric, and disturbs the equanimity of certain followers of the 'newer genetical school of anthropology', who naturally appear to themselves as the prophets of rational social control, but to their opponents as the champions of systematised exploitation and aggrandisement. This 'newer' collaboration between Biology and Bumbledom imposes on us the initial necessity of examining the biological aspects of miscegenation.

§

The most prominent contribution of modern biology to the problems of ethnic crossing is the accumulation of evidence on the complicated operation of the Mendelian laws in man. Not only are specific traits, such as baldness or albinism, transmitted along Mendelian lines, but genetic segregation is also responsible for the perpetuation of characteristics, such as woolly hair, so common in a large number of individuals in a particular area that it is usual to speak of them as 'racial'. Therefore, miscegenation does not produce truly intermediate types or blends, but variable populations in which innumerable original features remain as heritable units, which may reappear in later generations, or be fortuitously recombined to produce new types. That is why the outward or

phenotypic appearance of a group of more or less similar individuals is no guarantee of constitutional or *genotypic* similarity.

In the Yucatan, for example, the work of G. D. Williams (6. 1)¹ shows that, after nearly four centuries of mixture, the Maya-Spanish crosses of the region can still be more or less separated into sub-types corresponding to the ethnic elements concerned in the ancestry of these people. Most populations of this nature would also be susceptible to similar treatment, but they are, however, exposed to the action of isolation and selection, relative numbers and differential fertility, and economic and environmental factors, which lead to the formation of fairly homogeneous groups that can be regarded as 'races in the making'. In fact, J. R. de la H. Maret (3) and others believe that 'All the more widely dispersed and successful races of humanity represent various blends produced by a series of racial mixtures separated by periods of specialisation within single adverse and selective environments.' It seems, too, that these processes of building up and breaking down go on in widening circles indicative of a definite trend towards increasing uniformity. The evolutionary rôle of inbreeding and outbreeding is therefore at least as important as that of mutation.

Our concern here is with the recent results of outbreeding, but it will not be irrelevant first to note the effects of inbreeding. Recent studies, interpreted with apostolic fervour by A. M. Ludovici (5), have re-oriented social thought in relation to the taboos, imposed by religious and administrative ignorance, on consanguineous marriages. They show that there is no universal biological reason why men may not emulate the classic examples of incest (Raglan, 5), for the pedigrees, and not the 'morality', concerned would determine the nature of the resulting progeny.

But objections to extensive inbreeding remain, in

¹ See Bibliography.

spite of Mr. Ludovici's entertaining dialectics. It would encourage an increase of undesirable types, since numerous disorders are carried as recessive characters, which only become manifest in the children of unions between similar recessives. And it is obvious that an individual carrying, let us say, the recessive gene for deaf-mutism is more likely to meet with a similar individual within his family than outside it. Mr. Ludovici turns this prospect to good account in supporting his Utopia, for the production of a larger number of pure types would favour the conservation of the good and the elimination of the bad.

In this argument there is, of course, a considerable sprinkling of truth, but not as much as may carelessly be supposed. G. Dahlberg (5), whose work Mr. Ludovici does not quote, has analysed it statistically. He shows, as L. Hogben (2, 1933) and others also do, that the gain in control is not only comparatively slight and of little importance from the viewpoint of large populations, especially if they are of the growing type, but likely to be extremely risky and expensive in any society that preserves a humane attitude towards 'liquidation'. It is certainly difficult to justify supposedly eugenic measures, involving a considerable increase in familial misery for several generations, on the grounds of a rational morality. We may therefore congratulate ourselves that the purchase of genetic benefits for a very remote posterity at a 'disproportionate price', as Dr. Dahlberg puts it, is still no more than a question of theoretical interest. And theorists who offer one-way tracks to social betterment are seldom effective.

§

The mechanism of inheritance, as we have now seen, plays a vital part in human evolution. But all ethnic and individual peculiarities are not the results of direct genetic determination. Progress in the fields of endocrinology, nutritional research, and soil science

has shown that many characteristic differences in appearance, build and personality are associated with the nature of endocrine activity, which is determined both by genetic and physico-chemical factors.

So it would seem that the explanation for the combined phenomena of segregation and blending observed in certain group characters must be partly sought in the functions of the ductless glands. In the skin colour of 'mixed bloods', for example, it is a matter of common knowledge that blending is more frequent than segregation, though striking segregates are sometimes found among radical crosses in early generations, as in South Africa. On the whole, the children of white and black parents are brown in colour, and those of the browns are not conspicuously different from the lighter or darker parents. The factors involved in the inheritance of skin colour await closer study, but the basic explanation lies in multiple genetic factors, endocrine functions, ultra-violet radiation and the selective influence of physiological responses to the need for mineral economy or otherwise. We have progressed a long way, as Marett (3) shows, from the simple genetic solution, or the earlier endocrine hypothesis that differences in the activity of the adrenalin bodies influence variations of skin colour, the paleness of the 'white races' being due to the greater vigour of these glands.

This correlation between whiteness and activity may not be readily abandoned. For it suggests to advocates of Aryan superiority that the white man's economic dominance is a biological and racial function, that even his glands are 'the best in the world'. But Mr. Marett, who is charmingly oblivious to some of the social implications of his work, reverses this comforting doctrine. He suggests that the white skin colour is evidence of a primitive hypothyroidal condition induced by mineral deficiency. In his salutary opinion, man is very probably 'a foetalised ape produced by severe iodine-deficiency' whose

original colour was white, the subsequent development of yellow, red and black pigments, which are successive stages in the synthesis of melanin, being 'encouraged by heat, alkalinity and a high metabolic rate.' So those ethnic groups with the most alkaline blood reactions and highest metabolic rates are the darkest, the Negroid colour, for instance, being 'indicative of an abundant physiological reserve of sodium', a condition also accounting for the masculinity and strength of the Negro woman. The acceptance of these interesting speculations involves so close a connexion between blackness and virility that I hesitate to emphasise them, for the growth of a defence mechanism aimed at a mere reversal of colour values in the social scene would be just as regrettable as the present situation.

The theory of multiple genes mentioned above has an intimate bearing on our enquiry. Developed through C. B. Davenport's studies of coloured populations, it connects the Negroid pigmentation with more than one pair of influencing genes, each of which 'contributes a little quota of blackness'. In the skin colour of whites, on the other hand, only a single pair of genes is said to be concerned. Thus, the intermediate colour of the mulatto is due to the dilution of the black-producing genes, whereas if his colour was the result of simple Mendelian inheritance, involving a single pair of genes in each parent, he would be dominantly white or black.

From this theory it follows that the mechanism of colour inheritance favours the survival of whiteness, and that the skin colour of mulatto groups can be readily changed by back-crossing with one of the contributing types, particularly with the white. It is also evident that in a mulatto population intra-marrying at random, the intermediate mulatto colour would be maintained, a negligible number being dominantly white or black. The popular 'throw-back' concept is therefore statistically unimportant.

Striking segregates occur, but are always rare, their incidence being further checked by social selection.

The information we have now considered indicates that populations created by recent miscegenation should be highly variable, the degree of variability corresponding to the ethnic differences of the contributing groups. This factor of greater variability provides additional scope, as E. Huntington (4) puts it, for 'the selection of new qualities for preservation and the formation of new racial characteristics'. It gives natural selection a wider range of individuals to work upon (Hankins, 3), and 'produces specialised pioneers capable of extending the range of the whole interbreeding group' (Marett, 3), a superior type being eventually stabilised. It therefore supports those who agree with Lord Olivier (3, 1929) that the hybrid is 'potentially a more competent vehicle of humanity', though it may stimulate an immediate increase in individuals out of tune with educable social forces.

Moreover, the high initial variability is reduced wherever matings within a mixed group are mainly responsible for its growth. Indeed, recent enquiries (reviewed by K. Wagner, 5) show that low variability can no longer be regarded as an index of 'racial purity', but the factors affecting it await further interpretation. It might be due to suppression of part of the original intraracial variability, the place of which has been taken by variation arising from the segregation of interracial differences (H. J. Muller, 5).

But whatever the explanation, as Professor Muller is careful to emphasise, it 'would be expected to give results that are in harmony with the experience of history, namely, that mixed races of man are not *per se* "inferior" For if the mean of the mixed race is as fit as that of the original races, and the variation from the mean is no greater than in the latter (as is the case), the variants also should on the average be as fit in the mixed race as in the

original races, and this would apply not only to individual characters but to recombinations of them.'

§

The influence of socio-sexual selection on variability is admirably illustrated by the work of M. J. Herskovits (5, 1929) on Afroamericans, continued by Irene Tauber (6. 1). They show that mating usually occurs within the same colour group, but that there is a conspicuous tendency for dark men to marry lighter women, and for light men to marry darker women.

Variability is therefore lower than it would be if mating were entirely at random, but higher than it would be if mating were always between similars. It is least in crosses representing the maximum white and the minimum black mixture, and highest in those of approximately equal black and white ancestry. These facts are socially significant. For they suggest that the Afroamericans are an increasingly homogeneous group, which will be characterised in the more immediate future by a smaller percentage of unmixed Negroes, a larger percentage of individuals with half or more Negro ancestry, and a lesser percentage of those who pass as Negroes, but have more white than Negro blood. In other words, social selection stimulated by white prejudices favours the extension of this group as a progressive unit in the population complex, and ensures the continued leakage of black genes into the white groups.

Ironically enough, this situation must be partly attributed to panicked members of Madison Grant's 'Great Race' who, in their efforts to avoid immediate 'contamination' which would swamp the already diluted coloured population, are helping to ensure the slow but unavoidably sure nigrescence of their kind. Indeed, one feels that Lord Raglan erred on the side of moderation when he told the British Association's Meeting of 1934 that 'before many

centuries elapse there will not be a single person in the United States without a certain proportion of Negro blood.'

Equally precise studies of assortative mating for colour remain to be undertaken on other mixed communities, but it would appear that the trends are the same wherever a hybrid unit is isolated by the social dominance of the whites. In the streets of Madras and Calcutta, for example, one is struck by the frequency with which the darkest Eurasians of one sex are observed with the lightest Eurasians or 'Domiciled Europeans' of the other. This 'attraction of opposites' may be partly a biological phenomenon, in which case we would have further proof of natural provision for the obliteration of ethnic differences, but in many cases the explanation must be sought in the contiguity of a highly privileged white group, which puts a premium on depigmentation. In fact, the phrase 'Improve the breed' is commonly used among certain classes of Eurasians, often with a psychologically significant bitterness, but not infrequently as affectionate advice to select the fairest skins in the matrimonial market.

The result is that where this defensive mechanism is not too acutely provoked, as in the lighter and generally more successful sections of the community, there is a growing tendency to mate within approximately the same colour group. But where colour prejudice is acutely felt Anglophily rises accordingly. The dark men seek to ease their passage through life, and that of their children, by marrying the fairest possible wives, the success of the impulse depending upon the economic allurements they can use as bait. The eligibility of the fair women, many of whom are in sufficient distress to subjugate colour prejudice to the charm of comparative security, and the assertive Anglophily of the dark men, naturally increases the probability of fair and socially unsuccessful men, provided mostly by the dregs of the 'Domiciled

European' class, mating with dark women, who possess the same desire for 'improvement' as the males of their colour group.

Moreover, the social disadvantages felt by these women tend to create the compensation of greater economic stability, which enables them to dangle the same bait as the dark men. It is therefore a common experience in India to find ex-soldiers and other discarded whites, often well-equipped physically, married to women of the so-called 'coal-black mammy' type, who give them the comforts and latitude they could not otherwise secure. Truly did Bacon write: 'Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth imbue contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn.'

§

It has been said that the early stages in the growth of a radically mixed community might be marked by an increase in individuals who may be regarded as aberrant. The apparently logical conclusion is that mixture between widely separated groups should be discouraged.

But it does not bear close scrutiny. For one thing, it does not consider the influence of selection; for another, it ignores proofs of the instability of primitive, or rather adaptive, characters. E. A. Hooton (5, 1923), whose authority as an anthropologist is reinforced by supervision of the extensive studies of miscegenation inaugurated at Harvard University, states that such features as prognathism, low nasal bridge, thick lips, woolly hair and simple cranial sutures become progressively unobtrusive as crossing with 'advanced' types proceeds. And W. Ramsay Smith (7. 3), a distinguished Australian scientist, has pointed out that the overhanging forehead and deep basi-nasal depression characteristic of the Australian aborigines disappears in the first generation of white-aboriginal crosses.

He adds that when such hybrids mate, the children are frequently whiter than either parent, an observation which appears to apply in many other groups, though it must be partly attributed to the longer influence of solar radiation on the skin colour of the parents. Hybrid stature, as several investigators have shown, also invariably corresponds to that of the taller stock, which increases the interest of the statement that tallness is correlated with greater health and mental ability (Moore, 5).

The causes of these phenomena are again to be sought in a complex of genetic, endocrine and nutritional factors, but for us it will suffice if we realise that they support the trend towards a more common level. For example, the Negroid nose, a useful adaptive character, may represent an undeveloped condition, in which case the addition of rate genes for nasal growth to a Negroid population, living in an environment that offers no biological advantage to the possessors of broad noses, would soon stimulate the high-bridged condition we are accustomed to admire.

Similarly, as we have seen, blackness is a protective physical adaptation which readily succumbs to 'the slightest touch of white blood'. The remarkable tendency, so often observed, of an insignificant infusion of whiteness in a black population is manifest in peoples like the Griquas or the Cape Coloured, and in many detailed pedigree studies. In one of many cases studied by H. B. Fantham (6. 3, 1925), a blond Belgian married a Zulu woman, the union producing two black sons and one black daughter, one white son and one white daughter, and one brown son and two brown daughters. One of the black girls married a Zulu male, and had two black and two brown sons. One of the white girls also married a Zulu male, and had a black son and a white daughter, whose marriage to one of her black cousins resulted in a brown daughter. This pedigree shows that, in spite of the preponderance of Zulu genes, only six of the offspring were black, six

being brown and three white. It illustrates, too, the extent of segregation which, significantly enough, seems to be more common in the native environment of the blacks than it is in America.

So it appears that biological trends favour the superiority of the hybrid to the 'inferior' parent, a widely observed fact admitted by the most determined opponents of miscegenation. Indeed, the factor of greater adaptability creates a potential superiority, demonstrably concrete in such groups as the Pitcairn and Tristan da Cunha Islanders, to both parent stocks, though the available information on hybrid vigour in man is not as impressive as that concerning other organisms.

An important exception must, however, be made in regard to increased fecundity. It is an expression of vigour so common in mixed communities that the lingering belief in the Victorian concept of hybrid infertility, stimulated by Paul Broca (5), is a remarkable testament to the persistence of egocentric social errors. It is no doubt comforting to believe that unions which transgress social sanction are Providentially punished by comparative sterility, but actually the changing of ethnic differences is not only supported by a distinct correlation between population growth and increased tendency towards mixture, and by the high fertility and greater adaptability of cross-breds, but also by the sex ratio—a fundamental factor in population size (Pitt-Rivers, 3,).

The *Talmud* shrewdly anticipated modern knowledge in the statement that girls predominate among the progeny of mixed marriages, for it is now known that many marginal groups in process of formation are distinguished by an excess of females over males, the sex ratio becoming more equated as inbreeding and group stability proceeds. Thus, in a well-established unit like the Eurasians of India there is no significant difference in the sex ratio (the slight excess of males noted by the last Census being probably affected by

the greater ease with which Eurasian women 'cross the line'), whereas in the adjacent and younger community of Eurasians in British Malaya there is still a distinct preponderance of females, which cannot be wholly ascribed to male emigration.

§

The foundations of those who use the bogey of biological disharmony as a warning against interbreeding have now been somewhat undermined. It has been admitted, of course, that the segregation of characters may lead to physical anomalies in radical hybrids, such as woolly hair or a flat nose in an otherwise 'Aryanised' individual, but genetic and selective factors operate against their production. Moreover, the contrasts apparent in these mildly aberrant individuals offer no severe social or physical handicap, such discomfort as they suffer being conditioned by æsthetic concepts of a relative and unstable nature, or by mere vulgarity. They cannot therefore be seriously considered without exposing a prejudice.

The disharmonists themselves seem, to some extent, to realise this. For their propaganda emphasises the more alarming prospects of definite structural maladjustments being created by ethnic mixture. Of these facial disharmony, typified by large teeth crowded in small jaws, is perhaps most frequently reported. Indeed, a susceptible student might gain the impression from a paper by H. Lundborg (5, 1930), illustrated by a peculiarly repellent series of photographs of apparent mental defectives, that most hybrids share this minor misfortune. But less sensitive persons will be able to detect the absence of statistical value in such generalisations, while admitting that elongation of the face, accompanied by some crowding of the teeth in many cases, is frequently observed in mongrelised groups, often in groups that are not regarded as mixed by

the public mind. The French, for example, are fond of portraying this facial peculiarity of their island neighbours, among whom it is at least sufficiently common to attract the cartoonists' attention.

At the extreme end of the scale of hybrid defects are those concerned with glandular malformations, asymmetry of the long bones, and the occurrence of small internal or reproductive organs in large men, but these reports lack even the semblance of a statistical basis. As W. E. Castle (5, 1930) says, can any anatomist prove that the size of organs like the heart or kidney is 'more variable in crossbreds or less closely correlated with general size than in either pure Nordics or pure Mediterraneans (if he can find such)'? In fact, it would suffice if apologists for ethnic discrimination would demonstrate, by comparative pedigree studies of less formidable aspect, that sound stocks are degenerated by crossing with sound stocks of a different group. Till then aspirants to social sanity must assume with F. H. Hankins (3) that the disharmony sometimes observed in hybrids is not due to 'race' crossing as such, but to the union of defective types of different groups. Equally undesirable results follow the intermingling of discordant or dysgenic stocks within a comparatively pure ethnic group. 'In regard to really important characteristics', as H. J. Muller (1) aptly says, 'the natural differences between the races pale into insignificance beside the natural differences between individuals—so much so that an impartial science of genetic improvement could not afford to take the former into account at all in its procedure.'

This conclusion can be legitimately accepted without further elaboration, but it may be useful to look more closely at some prominent examples of prejudice which have attained the status of scientific verities in the disharmonist school, in spite of reputable criticism. W. E. Castle (5, 1930) and L. Hogben (2, 1931) have gathered together some amusing instances of prejudiced interpretation in the results of an enquiry on

'race crossing' in Jamaica by C. B. Davenport and M. S. Steggerda (6. 1), of which the following is fairly typical. In a general review (6. 1) of this work, Davenport, followed by H. S. Jennings (2, 1930), states that 'Some of the Jamaican browns have the long legs of the Negro and the short arms of the white which would put them at a disadvantage in picking things up from the ground.' Analysing this statement in detail, Castle points out that 'the reputed "much longer" leg length of the blacks turns out to be on the average longer by five-tenths of a centimeter', the leg length of the browns being intermediate. And surely, writes Castle, 'a leg longer by three-tenths of a centimeter would not be a serious physical handicap to a brown in competition with a white. Actually we look in vain for the extra long-legged brown. No single brown has longer legs than the longest-legged whites, and two browns have shorter legs than any white!'

Continuing, Castle states that 'the difference in mean arm length between blacks and whites is five-tenths of a centimeter, exactly the same as in the mean leg length.' Davenport's own data therefore support Castle's contention, based on 'an intimate study of the subject', that the appendages are not only correlated with each other in size, but also with body size as a whole (see also Huxley, 2). The possibility, then, of a brown inheriting long legs and short arms becomes so remote as to be practically inadmissible, but Castle humorously asks how much further a disharmonious cross, such as Davenport and Jennings visualise, would have to stoop to pick things up from the ground, and furnishes the answer himself. It is one centimeter, less than two-fifths of an inch!

And so he administers this mild rebuke: 'The honestly made records of Davenport and Steggerda tell a very different story about hybrid Jamaicans from that which Davenport and Jennings tell about them in broad sweeping statements. The former will never

reach the ears of eugenics propagandists and Congressional committees ; the latter will be with us as the bogey men of pure-race enthusiasts for the next hundred years.' The late Professor Karl Pearson (6. 1) was even more severe. 'The only thing that is apparent in the whole of this lengthy treatise', he wrote in a critical review of Davenport and Steggerda's

emoir (6. 1), 'is that the samples are too small and drawn from too heterogeneous a population to provide any trustworthy conclusions at all. There are sound biometricians and anthropologists in the United States, and it would have seemed worth the while of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to have placed the manuscript of the work before them before authorising its publication.'

Castle (5, 1926) has also roundly chastised J. Mjöen for the conclusions he has drawn from 'insufficient and uncritical observations' on rabbit hybrids and Norwegian-Lapp crosses. Briefly, Mjöen contends that his rabbit crosses show deterioration because (1) they are abnormal, as size is increased in the first and decreased in the second generations ; (2) their fertility is decreased and mortality increased in the fourth generation ; (3) some crossbreds show asymmetrical carriage of the ears, one erect, the other pendant ; and (4) the normal carriage and jumping ability is disturbed.

Castle replies that (1) if abnormality and deterioration are synonymous then all superior individuals are abnormal, and asks if it is evidence of deterioration that some of the second generation rabbits are less abnormal and more variable than their immediate ancestors ; (2) these phenomena, well-known to all rabbit-breeders, are due to overcrowding and nutritional defects, no rabbits being so racially distinct that hybridisation could affect fertility or vigour ; (3) similar asymmetry, which Mjöen regards as 'the most distinct outward sign of a disharmonic crossing that can well be imagined', frequently occurs in large-sized rabbits,

irrespective of race, owing to muscular inability to hold up the ears ; and (4) he categorically denies ' Dr. Mjöen's assumption that there is inheritance, independent of general body size, of types of bone structure which regulate " the way or mode of jumping and holding-carrying the body " . '

So much for Mjöen's rabbits. His opinions on disharmony in Norwegian-Lapp crosses rest on equally limited investigations and his peculiar concept of degeneration. He makes it obvious that he regards the Mongoloid Lapps as an inferior race, whose genes are dangerous to the Nordic element in his country. And as Castle writes : ' Perhaps the Lapp might reasonably take a similar view of the situation. Race pride and race prejudice narrow down to just that view of all alien stocks. But to an outside observer it is conceivable that some inherited characters of the Lapp might be combined with other inherited characters of the Norwegian to produce meritorious racial combinations which could be viewed with satisfaction both by the intelligent Lapp and by the intelligent Norwegian. ' Meanwhile, hybrid Norwegians and coloured Americans and Jamaican browns are there, and will continue to be there. In that simple fact lies the starting point of a constructive social attitude towards miscegenation.

For, wherever two ethnic groups have lived together for some time, it is too late to speculate on incompatibility and biological disharmony, or what may have been or should be. In the case of the Afroamericans, for example, specialisation has already been broken down, and a new adaptability is in an advanced stage of construction : the American Negro is no longer an African immigrant. Wise policy therefore dictates the acceptance of the situation, accompanied by the institution of improving forces rather than ludicrous attempts to ' postpone that evil day ' when complete fusion will be achieved. Even W. A. Plecker (5), the Virginian racialist from whom I have taken

the last quotation, admits that amalgamation is the inevitable consequence of racial contiguity, but he nevertheless believes that ‘*all* will accept as a theorem that the preservation of racial purity is one of the fundamental objects of eugenic endeavour.’ Such a statement is a revelation for those who can resist the subtle flattery of Mr. Plecker’s collective pronoun.

§

The disharmonist school has also applied itself energetically to the establishment of racial differences in mental characteristics, which supposedly induce social failure and degeneracy in hybrid groups because of their innate incompatibility. The theory is one of ancient vintage, a recurrent favourite with those who wish to persuade their followers and themselves that their group is the best group.

Naturally, therefore, it becomes particularly conspicuous at times of political conflict or new advances in exploitation. Thus, in the United States, the high spots of rampant racialism are associated with the Civil War and the colonisation which followed the Spanish-American conflict. In England, it has grown with every expansion of imperialistic policy. The ‘proper’ development of Jamaica, for example, inspired that dyspeptic bore, Thomas Carlyle, to a typical *Discourse on Niggers* (quoted by Olivier, 7. 2), in which he visualised a deplorable mass of pumpkin-eating ‘Quashees’ menacing the economic ambitions of the heaven-born Squashers. Decidedly, he wrote, ‘you have to be the servants to those that are *born* wiser than you; that you may depend upon, my obscure black friends—that are born Lords of you—servants to the whites if they are (as what mortal man can doubt they are?) born wiser than you! That, you may depend upon, my obscure black friends! is and was always the Law of the world for you and all men.’

But arrogance and wisdom flourish side by side, and it would do England an injustice not to quote the opinion of a greater contemporary. 'I cordially subscribe', wrote J. S. Mill, 'to the remark of one of the greatest thinkers of our time, who says of the supposed differences of race, "Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent mental differences."' "

That is the opinion of a profound philosopher, and it remains unshaken by modern enquiry. T. R. Garth (1), one of America's foremost psychologists, concludes from an extensive survey of racial ability that 'we have never, with all our searching, found indisputable evidence for belief in mental differences which are essentially racial. Differences as found can usually be shown to be due to one of two causes, modification (nurture) or selection, and often these are complicated by the results of careless measuring.'

And hear Lord Raglan (3, 1934): 'The whole idea that there are innate mental differences between people of different races is based upon prejudice rather than upon fact. This applies not merely to alleged differences between European races, but to alleged differences between whites and blacks. Intelligence tests carried out in Australia and South Africa have shown that black children are not inferior to white children. . . . So-called racial differences, so far as our evidence goes, are merely differences in upbringing. Nationalism exists and thrives on the entirely false belief that these artificial, and often indeed non-existent, differences are innate and unalterable.'

Dale Yoder (4) is so comprehensively succinct on the same issue that the temptation to quote him is also irresistible. 'The consensus of competent scientific thought', he writes, 'contemplating the inability of mental testers to define intelligence, the inadequacy of all attempts to take such factors as education, social

status and language into consideration, and the deficiencies of testing conditions, finds no proof of racial inferiority or superiority and eliminates the usual methods of determining such standing from the field of scientific usefulness.'

§

These quotations represent an objective attitude which may be regarded as disposing of the idea of innate inequality between peoples, and so of the attendant racial disharmony concept. But some elaboration may be useful.

It is evident that psychometry is an infant science, in which the biological approach is not only of recent origin but also distinctly tainted. We do know, however, that mental traits, like physical features, are perpetuated by Mendelian modes of transmission, inherited mental differences being determined by genetic variations in the germinal factors controlling them. This inference is supported by a growing body of evidence, of which that on the inheritance of mental defects is the most impressive (Gates, 4). The manifestations of the 'spirit' therefore arise from sources as material as those which shape the characteristics of the flesh.

At the same time, it should be remembered that behaviour is more susceptible than structure to environmental influences. In fact, the expression of various inherited traits may be so suppressed or modified during the formative years that adult character is little more than an expansion of its early mould, profound disturbances in the later environment producing further changes in character and capacity for achievement. Thus, outside the sphere of mental disease, it is extremely difficult, and some say it is impossible, to separate inherited from acquired mental characteristics, the complications of differentiation being increased by inadequate technique, the investi-

gator's social and moral attitudes or national allegiances, inability to assess influencing factors, and the use of relative values for distinctions. One is therefore inclined to agree with W. O. Brown (4) that, in their racial applications, intelligence tests 'probably reveal more about our mentality on things racial than they do about the mentality of races.'

In the same instructive paper, Brown also emphasises the absence, as E. Pittard (3) did before, and R. H. Lowie (2) after, him, of any objective basis for the assumption of a causal relation between race and culture. 'Since biological change occurs slowly', writes Lowie, 'and cultural changes occur in every generation, it is futile to try to explain the fleeting phenomena of culture by a racial constant. We can often explain them—in terms of contact with other peoples, of individual genius, of geography—but not by *racial* differences.' Moreover, different groups may share the same culture, and several cultures or extreme cultural variations may occur within a single ethnic unit. Indeed, H. M. Bernelot Moens (5) believes that humanity may be divided into five cultural categories, irrespective of race, which automatically dismisses the concept of definite racial stimuli to cultural progress.

His opinions are so illuminating that they deserve wide publicity, but meanwhile their essentials will be found in the following quotations. 'I have chosen', he writes (in French), 'two qualities as characteristic of human value: altruism and self-control. And their evaluation by different individuals has caused me to distinguish five human categories: (1) *Non-civilised man*—egoism predominates and does not permit the construction of stable social organisations. All grouping is only an assemblage of interests. (2) *Civilised man*—egoism widens its limits and encloses individuals of different tribes, who consent to certain sacrifices in the interests of the community. From lasting social organisations civilisations are born, which their possessors

endeavour to impose by force on peoples weaker than themselves. The major part of the white race is at this point. (3) *Humanised man*—here a decisive step has been taken by the individual, whose actions are now guided by consideration of their utility for others. (4) *Cultivated man*—at this stage the activity is not only altruistic but, with all the sentiments that accompany it, it is entirely controlled by the intellect. (5) *Perfect man*—absolutely master of himself, entirely altruistic. Such a being is a possibility of the future rather than a reality of the present.

‘This classification puts an end, *ipso facto*, to racial prejudices wherever they exist. And those who have the opportunity, because of circumstances which have given them a higher place in this classification, owe it to themselves to help others, by their example, to evolve more. If only we had quality instead of quantity in the human species, then universal justice, liberty, kindness and fraternity would actually reign over our planet. . . . The future of humanity can only be assured by men who unite in themselves the good physical and mental qualities of all the human races. . . .

‘In every race . . . one finds very diverse characteristics and all the degrees of character and intellectual capacity. . . . Therefore, when two different types, each presenting a conglomeration of bad qualities, are mixed, an admirable product cannot be obtained. On the other hand, it is possible to obtain a better result when the mixture is produced by the better types of the different races. In this way, race mixture may have excellent results, but on the condition of being done intelligently. And when it is not produced sufficiently there is degeneration. For these reasons, I commend racial crossing for a better Humanity, but under the enlightened direction of anthropology.’

In view of the facts and opinions we have now considered, it appears that racial psychology is at best an extremely contentious subject, even if the racial

concept is accepted as valid. Yet I do not suggest that the psychological investigation of ethnic groups is therefore impossible or undesirable. On the contrary, careful and impartial enquiries, aiming at social progress rather than group aggrandisement, might be valuable in the development of productive ethnic relations. They may serve, according to O. Klineberg (1), as 'measures of accomplishment', they may establish slight average differences in group susceptibilities to particular forms of ability and achievement, which may suggest policies for the judicious encouragement of interbreeding and the development of mixed groups. But, at present, there is distressingly little evidence of this spirit.

§

The material basis of the theory of black inferiority rests on an ancient assumption that brain weight, in which the 'backward races' are supposedly deficient, determines intelligence. H. L. Gordon (4) has recently acquired considerable notoriety by 'proving', on the basis of very limited analyses which await evaluation by other anatomists, that the average African brain is lighter and more primitively composed than that of the average white, who has the added advantage of progressive mental development after puberty, while the unfortunate black falls into a state of intellectual decline after the age of fourteen years or thereabouts.

Statesmen and educationists therefore feel that something should be done about this interesting discovery. And the most obvious thing to do is to reduce the already infinitesimal expenditure on 'native education' by providing a training, preferably a training which will develop an aptitude for manual work, suitable to the limitations of native educability, instead of maintaining a wasteful system which provokes a dangerous tendency among subhuman

creatures to fancy themselves as good as their white masters. That there is no such thing as an average white or African, and that genius has appeared in skulls of all shapes and sizes, is beside the point in Whitehall and Suburbia.

At the risk of depriving this enquiry of its modernity, it is interesting to recall that thirty years ago R. B. Bean published the results of a similar investigation in the *American Journal of Anatomy*—and there were many enthusiasts before him, as C. S. Johnson and H. M. Bond show (4). He found significant mean differences in the weight of a series of one hundred and fifty white and Negro brains respectively. Unfortunately, a colleague, F. P. Mall, studied this material with greater care and improved instruments, but was unable to confirm the conclusions of the earlier examination. In fact, in a paper printed in the same journal for 1909, he proved that Dr. Bean had not only underweighed the majority of the Negro brains, but had also helped comparisons along by overweighing those of the white series! Yet Dr. Bean's research enjoys a conspicuous place in Negrophobic literature, to which his critic's work, of course, finds no entrance.

The associated concept of the arrested mental development of Negroes is equally mature. A generation ago it formed part of the popular renaissance of the supposedly scientific approach to social problems. G. S. Hall, the industrious but opinionative author of *Adolescence*, fixed the turning point at fourteen years; E. B. Tylor, the renowned British anthropologist, thought it must be twelve years. It was quite a controversy. Many theories, anatomical and otherwise, accounted for this interesting condition, but that which correlated early sexual excesses due to abnormal sensuality with mental arrest was, and still remains, the most popular. For it confirms the enticing doctrine that all the 'dark races' are not only incompetent, but brutishly sexual as well.

BIOLOGY AND BUMBLEDOM

But disloyal sceptics will preserve the impression that, if the mental capacity of 'natives' seems to decline after puberty, the reason must be sought in the negligible extension of primary school education, and the great increase in social hardship which follows the coloured individual's passage from an already handicapped childhood. The youthful white in India or South Africa will continue to appear brighter than the native while the per capita cost of 'European Education' is at least twelve times greater than that reserved for the people who provide the revenue.

With M. Delafosse (3) we must therefore dismiss the 'big children' concept of the Negro peoples, which Paul Morand is now so assiduously spreading, as an attempt to rationalise discrimination by 'again proclaiming, in more amiable but not less absolute terms, that inferiority of the coloured races, which is maintained more harshly, if not more logically and in any case with less hypocrisy, by Gobineau and his school'. And in an earlier work (quoted in French by A. J. Toynbee, 1) he rightly points out that in discussions of ethnic ability ignorance has been confused with intelligence.

'The greatest genius in the world', he writes, 'if he had never been to school and had lived only amongst savages, would no doubt have found it completely impossible to express his high natural intelligence, which does not mean that he did not possess it in effect. . . . Moreover, the Blacks of Africa have had the fatal misfortune, without it having been their own fault in any way, of being unable to evolve as the other great races have done. For several centuries, the descendants of the Gauls, our ancestors, have found themselves in constant contact with populations more highly and differently evolved, but with a civilisation contemporary with their own, and have been able, by taking from some and finding inspiration in others, to become the Frenchmen of to-day. During

CEDRIC DOVER
HALF
CASTLE

With a Preface on Prejudices by
LANCELOT HOGBEN

Pride lives with all ; strange names our rustics give
To helpless infants, that their own may live.

Crabbe



MARTIN SECKER
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1937

agricultural environment, though many were not agricultural workers, as their samples. Some degree of environmental comparability was accordingly secured, but the slightest knowledge of Jamaican conditions indicates that the social advantage rested with the whites. Of course, it is extremely difficult in such work to exercise that 'scrupulous care in equating social environment' which L. Hogben (2, 1931) rightly regards as essential, but there is little excuse for vitiating already small and heterogeneous samples with seventeen black and fourteen brown prisoners, a fact which they are careful not to emphasise. It is therefore evident that their samples, which varied from eighteen to forty years in age, are not as comparable as the disharmonist school accepts them to be.

The tests applied aimed at illustrating differences in musical capacity, logical faculty, and the ability to visualise and organise. Of these, only the musical tests can be regarded as possibly dealing with inherited capacity rather than the effects of training and environment, but even so the environmental factor cannot be entirely excluded. Music plays an exceptionally important part in Negro life. Consequently, it is difficult to ascribe the slight, but perhaps significant, musical superiority of the blacks, especially in discriminating rhythm and time-intervals, entirely to racial inheritance. On the whole, it seems reasonable to suppose that, if the whites were moved by psychological necessity to live in the same musical atmosphere as the blacks, these differences would be negligible. In fact, the musical superiority of the blacks might well be regarded as a token of their social depression.

The estimation of visualising and organising capacity depended on such tests as copying geometric figures, memory-drawing of a man, reconstruction of a disjointed mannikin, the Knox moron test, and guessing the figures resulting from cutting a twice-folded piece

of paper. These elementary methods are so much influenced by training that the racial interpretation of a small series of tests requires a degree of credulity from which a scientist must hope to be free. However, in so far as they go, the results show that, while the adult whites scored slightly higher than adult blacks in all these tests, the differences between black and white children were not so marked, which is, of course, a definite argument against innate inequality. In fact, in the guessing test, black children were slightly superior, but among adults the whites had the advantage. In another test involving the factors of visualisation and memory—the correct repetition of seven numbers read out in jumbled order—black children were again superior, the adult scores showing little significant variation. In this test adult browns scored the highest, though in the others their scoring was intermediate.

A test of logical faculty—criticism of absurd sentences—and the notorious Army Alpha tests were also employed. In the results of the former there is again no clear distinction between juvenile whites and blacks, while among the adults 45 per cent of the whites and 34 per cent of the blacks made the highest score. In the latter, which were applied only to adults, the scores indicated that the whites were superior in ‘commonsense’, in distinguishing synonyms and antonyms, the truth or falsehood of reconstructed sentences, and in the choice of words for composing the ‘truest’ sentences, while the blacks excelled in simple mental arithmetic and numerical sense, the ability to carry out directions, and in visualising the essential relations of things.

The disconcerting success of the blacks in just those parts of the Army tests where educational factors have the least influence, leads Davenport and Steggerda to the strange conclusion that they indicate a low mental level, for it would appear that ‘the more complicated a brain, the less satisfactorily’ it does simple mental

calculations. This tendency to explain the successes of the blacks, while emphasising those of the whites, is conspicuous throughout the work. In a summary, Davenport (4) even follows the remark that in second trials of the Knox moron test the blacks show a stronger tendency to improve than the whites, with the contradictory comment that 'In ability to profit by such experience the average white seems superior to the average black person.'

It is possible to criticise this Jamaican enquiry still further, but it would merely emphasise the already evident conclusion that it illustrates technical inadequacy, complicated by rationalised prejudice. It does not prove any ethnic variations of social importance, nor does it define the extent to which these variations are innate or acquired. The differences recorded are slight and subject to change by education, their insignificance being accentuated by consideration of the small size and very doubtful comparability of the groups studied, the influence of variables, such as age and occupation, to which no weight is attached, the admitted similarity of the juvenile scores, and the superiority of the whites in the tests most affected by the cultural background.

Finally, one is tempted to enquire why these investigators neglected the material at their door to venture so far afield, particularly since Jamaica, as Karl Pearson (4) points out and they must have known, 'with its centuries of racial intermixture is the last place where a study of the relative physical and mental traits of Negro and white can be made'. One does not like to believe that they deliberately set out to tighten up prejudices in the West Indies, where the growing emancipation of a coloured people so near the Southern States is disturbing to American views on the Negroes' position in society. Madison Grant (3, 1934) states, for example, that 'The West Indies are more important to the United States immigration policy than would be expected from their size, because

of their close proximity to American ports of entry.' And Lothrop Stoddard (3, 1935) is convinced that the West Indies is 'destined to be a chronically unstable region which, *unless controlled by outside forces*, is liable to engender grave political and social troubles'.

But Messrs. Davenport and Steggerda cannot altogether escape such suspicions, particularly while their association with racial movements remains so pronounced. Moreover, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the sponsor of their enquiry, has had as profound an influence on recent ethnic and immigration policies in the United States as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, under its prolific President, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, has had against Communism. At any rate, their work is so obviously concerned with social interpretations in an area under British administration that they should have submitted their manuscript to a small committee of British anthropologists. Indeed, this procedure should have been regarded as obligatory, since the Jamaican Government gave them hospitality and special facilities. As it is both Empire patriots and British socialists will naturally feel that, until American anthropology purges itself of narrow political motives, its devotees should at least keep their fingers out of the British pie.

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The last three sections lead inevitably to agreement with A. J. Toynbee (1) that 'the so-called racial explanation of differences in human performance and achievement is either an ineptitude or a fraud'. Nevertheless, political and environmental factors have placed certain ethnic groups on such widely separated cultural and economic levels that unrestricted relations between them might raise the level of the unsuccessful at the expense of the successful.

So it is felt, since interpretations of profit and loss

come mainly from the advanced and exploiting groups, that the extension of radical crossing should be 'discouraged'. And, certainly, one would hesitate to suggest that blue-eyed Nazis should altruistically contribute genes to the elevation or assimilation of Malay Sakai, nor is it desirable that Esquimaux genius for Polar colonisation should be disturbed by African immigration. But crosses so radical are outside the realm of practical consideration at present, and where the possibility occurs evolutionary forces might well be left to cope with it. Moreover, the egocentric policy of discouragement has never been successful in preventing mixed marriages when the will to contract them has been there: anthropologists and public schoolboys have cried in vain that 'it isn't done'.

On the other hand, the growth of social tolerance is unlikely to lead to miscegenation on a mass scale. It may stimulate an increase in intermarriage, controlled by selective factors which would preserve social equilibrium, but one cannot visualise a colossal indulgence in the 'attraction of opposites' because restraining influences have been removed. In fact, even the definite encouragement of widespread crossing is unlikely to be as effective as its sponsors are inclined to imagine. Mass mating between British and Bantu, for instance, may be desirable from the viewpoint of productive colonisation, as Bernard Shaw maintains, but the Eurafrican repeopling of Africa could only be very slowly realised under the most favourable conditions. The petty conceit of discouragement therefore reveals itself as a device for the protection of social inequality masquerading as racial control.

But it may be interesting to anticipate what would happen if two populations, differing widely in ethnic inheritance and economic status, could be induced to intermarry freely. The problem may be simplified by visualising two small groups, one black and the other white, in a given area, the whites being definitely

superior in average performance to the blacks. Assuming that both these populations grow at the same rate and remain separated, what would be their position in a hundred years? Their numerical strength would probably be doubled and their average performance increased, but the degree of improvement might be higher among the whites, thus widening the gap between the two groups. In other words, there would be no very significant advance in either group, and social relations may be worse.

But if these populations had been crossed they would form a hybrid group, probably intermediate in ability, but with a greater number of individuals approximating to the white level (W) than to the black (B). Moreover, selection and other factors would condition a progressive improvement of the lower levels, and an increasing tendency towards the higher. Thus, in a hundred years, there would not be an equal number of W's and B's in the crossbred population, as there would have been under conditions of isolated growth, but the greater though changed value of W would be potential in the entire amalgamated community, which would favour the elimination of the B condition and the acquisition of the W value by the intermediates. Ultimately, therefore, the entire community would be characterised by better adapted and more or less W individuals, the gain being almost twice that under separate development. Something like this has been happening on Pitcairn, Tristan da Cunha and other small islands.

It must be admitted, of course, that the problem has been stated in deliberately simple terms but, when all the influencing factors are considered, it would still seem that the eventual *human* gain is greater when an advanced group is crossed with a backward one than it is when such groups grow in parallel isolation maintained by restrictions and unavoidable hostility. As F. A. E. Crew (2) puts it, "if the hybrid replaces the inferior stock, and if the

average of the hybrid is definitely superior to that of the stock which it displaces, then surely its production must be regarded as a gain'.

This gain acquires emphasis from the fact that in 'biracial' countries the backward, and often larger, groups are always a drag on the body politic. 'Whenever a social group', writes E. G. Murphy in *The Basis of Ascendancy* (quoted from Olivier, 3, 1927), 'persistently maintains, in relation to an included group, a policy of constriction and repression, there follows the constriction and repression of its own life. Not only is it embarrassed and constrained by the actual loss of the energies and capacities which it restricts, but the reactive force of its restrictive policies—absorbing its mind in the preoccupations of constraint—confines and hardens the largeness of its own temper, the varied fertility of its own thinking, the scope and freedom of its development.'

The truth of this statement is only too evident in South Africa and the 'Black Belt' of America. It is obscured by the abuse of ethnic liberalism as being 'anti-racial', but not for those who have controlled their economic fears sufficiently to appreciate the true eugenic viewpoint, who realise that scientific consideration of human problems must be concerned with the improvement of mankind and not of particular 'races' and nations.

§

The reader will have detected in the preceding pages a definite devaluation of the idea of human races to which he is probably accustomed. Some further explanation of this somewhat unorthodox attitude may therefore be useful.

Briefly it is that the concept of race, or subspecies according to modern biological preference, is so

untenable in its application to our much mongrelised species that anthropologists have never been able to agree on a racial classification of mankind, the number of proposed races ranging from the three sanctioned by the earlier naturalists to a hundred and more created by later enthusiasts. So I have tried to avoid the use of the undesirable word 'race' by employing the expression *ethnic group*, an advance on F. Boas's suggestion to substitute 'populations' for 'races', introduced by J. S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon (1).

This usage is also a protest against recent attempts to exaggerate regional ethnic differences by raising the primary phenotypic divisions or colour varieties of humanity to specific rank. The intention of these species builders is patently propagandist. For not only do 'races' overlap and defy definition by standardised criteria, which has been recently emphasised by the disagreements of a committee set up by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Institute of Sociology (G. E. Smith *et al.*, 3), but the very concept of a species is so susceptible to individual idiosyncrasies that the literature of systematic zoology is already cluttered up with the theses of those who elevate varieties and races into species, or reduce 'nearly related species' to races and varieties. The taxonomist, accustomed to the industry of these schools of 'splitters' and 'lumpers', may therefore continue comparatively unperturbed by the prospect of the unfortunate Negro being rechristened *Homo africanus africanus* (The African Man) and *Homo africanus americanus* (The Afro-American Man). The specific *sapiens* would, of course, be retained for the 'Aryans', their nationalities being given racial ranks on the basis of Sir Arthur Keith's authority: *Homo sapiens anglicus* (The English Wise Man), by way of example. Or, if wider theories of white unity prevail, nationalities may acquire no more than varietal value, though such names as *Homo sapiens pallidus* var.

germanicus (The German Pale Wise Man) may prove a trifle unwieldy for ordinary purposes.

But in the masses, to whom the subtle mysteries of zoological terminology remain unrevealed, the same academic complacency cannot be expected. The layman is accustomed to regard a species as a distinct organic unity, unable to interbreed with the most related units without incurring the severe displeasure of the Creator. Consequently, the growth of the idea of multispecific humanity would encourage xenophobia and remove the Negro, already regarded by numerous morons as subhuman, to the category of the gorilla in the public mind. That would be the practical result, and may be the principal object, of such a classification.

Yet a major task of social biology to-day is to educate public opinion to appreciate the impeditive effects of division into territorial groups. It is true that adaptive environmental departures from a common origin, like the protective pigmentation, flaring nostrils and enlarged sweat glands of the African Negro, have been acquired by mutations and ages of selection, and that this specialisation is disorganised when the social and biological equilibrium is disturbed. One may even agree with Sir Arthur Keith (3, 1936) that the separation of the major divisions of mankind began before the pleistocene period. But it is equally true that no human group is so highly specialised that biological obstacles to intermixture are created, and that the need for biological adaptations to particular environments is modified in proportion to the degree of civilisation attained. The environmental complex is now being rapidly changed in every region, the biological equilibrium being almost universally disturbed by the advance of the New Age. Obviously, therefore, human advantage lies not in segregation, self-determination and specialisation, but in the progressive adaptability created by increased contacts and discriminate mixture.

The point is admirably illustrated by the history of

the Maoris and other Oceanic indigènes, whose existence was for many years threatened by contact with the white man and his 'civilisation'. To-day, however, a revitalised, adaptable and very largely mixed Maori community assures New Zealand of a growing and essential native population, which has already produced many prominent men. In fact, the economic influence of the part-Maoris provides one of the most striking proofs for Lord Olivier's contention (3, 1929), based largely on his experience in Jamaica, that 'a colony of black, coloured and white people, has far more organic efficiency and far more promise in it than a colony of white and black alone. A community of white and black alone is in far greater danger of remaining, as is conspicuously to be observed in South Africa, a community of employers and serfs, concessionaires and tributaries, with, at best, a bureaucracy to keep the peace between them.'

The effect of the ascendancy of 'The Changing Maoris' on Western opinion also provides an instructive example of the economic determination of ethnic attitudes. Once despised as half-castes, they are now frequently instanced as proof of the value of interbreeding in certain cases. The mulattoes have not been so fortunate, though the American Negroes owe their survival in an adverse environment to genetic dilution, and their astonishing material development to mulatto effort and intellectual enterprise. But here again it is noteworthy that social tolerance is not failing to respond to increasing economic and cultural power.

Indeed, the general outlook on miscegenation is rapidly altering from universal condemnation to qualified disapproval of radical crossing. A few years ago A. M. Carr-Saunders (2, 1926) could write unchallenged that 'we should hardly expect crosses between such widely separated racial groups as Europeans and Chinese to be successful', but to-day many eugenists proclaim Anglo-Chinese hybrids as

the best of their kind. This modified outlook has developed in response to accumulating evidence on the nature and extent of ethnic fusion, and more especially to the pressure of economic forces. New political situations have shown that the white man's gratuitous burden rests so extensively on the shoulders of his hybrid offspring that it would be disastrous if they decided to drop it.

All prejudices change with time. In America itself, as a shrewd observer (B. Schrieke, 3) notes, 'the once strong prejudice against the Germans and the Irish, who were not so long ago regarded with disdain, and even hatred, has largely disappeared, since their economic status has improved. They have lost their visibility, not only in outward appearance, but also in their habits, speech and outlook on life; they conform to the conventional pattern; they have learned how to "get on".' The Afroamericans may therefore rest assured that as memories of the luxurious days of slavery fade away, and black dollars and utility become more conspicuous, they too will be lyricised by the no longer Big White Boss.

§

The conclusions emerging from this biological discussion are, I hope, moderately apparent. But one major point will bear emphasis. It is that large doses of purity vaccine from the 'newer genetical' drug-stores will not solve the problems of marginal communities. They can neither kill nor cure.

For these problems are essentially economic. They are not the function of the mixture of mysterious racial qualities, but of economic and cultural factors operating against achievement and social efficiency. History, writes F. A. E. Crew (2), 'would seem to show that there is no really serious biological objections to racial hybridisation and that the widespread repugnance to it has been born of political and religious

More foundations. An analysis of the nature of prejudice, and an exposure of the myth of innate racial prejudice. Some readers will agree with Voltaire that 'Prejudices are the reasoning of fools'—and some, of course, will not!

3. THE PLACE OF PREJUDICE

THE problems of 'race' prejudice are subtly illuminated by two writers who stalked abroad, as writers will do, in search of material. H. Bleackley (7. 4), a traveller with a suburban cortex and no small regard for himself as a representative of Imperial prestige, went a-Trolloping Eastwards. A sensitive fellow, he readily contracted an acute attack of melanophobia.

'With the remembrance of the half-castes of Asia fresh in my mind', he writes, distressed by the indiscriminating hospitality of the Metropolis, 'I could not help shuddering at the sight of these coloured visitors. One feared that London was going to become a "Nigger Heaven". Why should these beings of an inferior race be allowed to come into the country to take the bread out of the mouths of our own people? . . . A more important reason still may be urged for the exclusion of these black intruders. Since the sensuality of the nigger is insatiable and both the male and the female crave for a white paramour, their presence in our midst for any length of time must result in an increase of the half-caste population. *No measure can be too drastic that will prevent the contamination of our race by the infusion of black blood.* (The italics are Mr. Bleackley's.) A new law ought to be placed in the Statute Book to the effect that every nigger, who has sexual intercourse

with a white woman, shall be liable to the penalty of being flogged and deported.' It is indeed surprising 'with how moderate a portion of brains some heroes contrive to get on.'

W. B. Seabrook (7. 2), an adventurer with an open mind and a refreshing disregard for himself as a representative of the Star-Spangled Banner, went to Haiti. He returned with a fund of rich experiences (and no complaints about the cooking), among them an encounter with Ernest Chauvet, the mulatto editor of the indigenous *Nouvelliste*. They discussed the consequences of the American occupation of the island. 'The Americans', M. Chauvet gracefully admitted, 'have taught us a lot of things. Among other things they have taught us that we are niggers. You see, we really didn't know that before. We thought we were Negroes.'

And on the same topic another Haitian, older and less pungent than the ironic editor, remarked: 'It took us older ones longer than you would think to understand this thing that the Americans have brought. For us "Negro" was a word like "Aryan", "Nordic", "Latin", which connotated differences not shameful-ness. "Haitian" was a national adjective like Scandinavian, Swiss, English. Around such adjectives cluster patriotic traditions and patriotic prides. Now our children are ashamed to be Negro, ashamed to be Haitian. Some of us older ones, too. It seems to me that we are being poisoned. I am told that the Americans have brought to our country prosperity, peace, security, material improvement. Be it so. Can these things compensate for the destruction of our pride, the poisoning of our souls?'

One more quotation, again from the searchingly contemptuous Chauvet, is instructive. 'On the entire island of Haiti', he says, 'there are perhaps eight or a dozen women who meet our Haitian *élite* without contempt or patronage, and these same eight or a dozen are perhaps the only American women on the

island who, when they return to their native America, are at home in their own high society . . . one of these ladies is Madame John Russell, wife of the High Commissioner . . . she is what you call international society ; she is at home in Mayfair, she is at home in the palaces of Chinese mandarins, and she is at home here. *Elle s'en fiche* the colour lines drawn by American women whose social experience has been limited to Marine Corps posts and their own small towns in Alabama or Nebraska.'

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In these quotations the complex of factors responsible for the colour problem can be easily detected. Conditioned fear of economic and sexual competition is evidently the cause. Mr. Bleackley's hysterical tirade, no less than M. Chauvet's bitter analysis, makes that abundantly clear.

And the effects are a variety of aggressive and defensive mechanisms inimical to social development and international peace. M. Chauvet's comments are typical of a coloured intelligentsia passing from seething resentment to the verge of organised rebellion. Burghardt Du Bois did not exaggerate when he wrote in his *Darkwater* that 'wild and awful as this shameless war was, it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World cease. The Dark World is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer.' The ebullient Marcus Garvey was not merely oratorical when he shouted at a colossal gathering of Negroes the conviction that 'the bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and that will be the Negroes' opportunity to draw the sword for Africa's redemption'.

To-day we may smile superciliously at these warnings; the day after to-morrow they may be translated into reality. One feels that Booker T. Washington was not prophetic enough when he said that the crux of the Negro problem was not so much a question of what the white man would do with the Negro as what the Negro would do with the white man and his civilisation. For the issue is larger than that. To some it seems a question of what the 'coloured races' will do with the white. Which should make a good capitalist democrat feel that French colonial policy, with its principle of merited *égalité*, is to be commended for its vision, or rather for its cunning. In the French colonies, writes Mrs. Cecil Chesterton (7. 3), but not very accurately as the depressing reports of André Gide and Andrée Viollis prove, 'no coloured person (obviously of the bourgeoisie alone) seethes in social rebellion, the brown or yellow wife of a Frenchman is received on equal terms by her white compatriots—she is of their flag no matter what her skin or ancestry. It is the same with the men and the children. France is raising a population to rise up and call her blessed while we (the British), complacently deaf and blind, suffer generation upon generation to hold us in hatred and contempt.'

We come, with no more than ordinary perspicacity, to agree with Mr. Wells that 'race' prejudice is evil, foolish and dangerous, that 'it justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world.' Yet it is universally spread and, with the fascination exercised by the growth of self-determination and national despotisms, it has become a basic political principle of capitalist society. As H. Kohn (3) writes: 'Racial relations to-day present more dangerous features in the field of inter-human relations than any other point of conflict. Nowhere are mob passions, prejudices and fears so easy to evoke and so difficult to check.'

If they are to be prevented from crystallising into custom and sometimes even into law, there must be a conscious and persistent effort by all religious and rational forces which subscribe to the idea of equality of men and races. Unless decisive changes are made in the attitudes and practices of dominant towards backward races—and such changes are not now in prospect outside of the Soviet Union—wars and revolts must inevitably result.'

It is therefore important to enquire if ethnic emotionalism is a social and educable phenomenon, or a deeply rooted and merely controllable biological instinct. Sir Arthur Keith (3) maintains that it is part of the inherited mechanism of evolution 'which has brought about the ascent of man', and that it can be tempered with reason but not eradicated. He recognises the impossibility of real peace without deracialisation, but commends racial development through 'the spirit of segregation' as part of the unalterable plan for human progress. Nationalism and 'reasonable' prejudice are accordingly essential factors in the growth of civilisation. C. B. Davenport, less critical than Sir Arthur Keith, thinks that we should follow racial prejudice 'as a guide if we are to seek to establish a commonwealth characterised by peace and unity of ideals'. So does the 'newer genetical anthropology' speak!

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The basis of this ingenious theory of 'prejudice without arrogance' is the belief that primitive men maintained their tribal territories by prejudice, racial instincts remaining deeply implanted in human nature after the discovery of agriculture led to the subordination of race-breeding to economic advancement. This tribal instinct is regarded as the 'essence of nationalism', and nations as races in the making.

All this is rather evident rationalisation, but it has

been readily accepted by those who are awed by the weight of Sir Arthur Keith's reputation, or are glad to have his support for the hysterical patriotism which he himself lacks. For the flaws in the argument are obvious, apart from the fact that we have already dismissed the racial concept. The idea of prejudice as a primordial biological instinct depends for its validity on three essential factors. Firstly, the tribe must be the earliest form of human grouping, a theory which Sir Grafton Elliot Smith has called 'elusive if not wholly mythical', in an article published during the outbreak on the colour problem in *The Spectator* for 1931. He believes, and a well-informed school of anthropologists agrees with him, that there were no tribes, and consequently no tribal prejudice or organised warfare, before the advent of agriculture, the only human grouping being into family units. In accepting this hypothesis, however, it is necessary to recognise that the prevailing tendency to regard the family as fundamental and essential to social structure is carrying the theory too far. As T. A. Jackson (1) writes, it is 'not a *cause*, or an indispensable pre-condition of society, but a *consequence*, a product of social development which has undergone transformation in the course of development, and which will therefore, and in time, just as surely cease to be as it has come into being'.

Secondly, there should be a deeply rooted antipathy to miscegenation, which would have preserved purity in the past and not needed propagandist aid to fulfil its function in the present. But every nation is now an ethnic *mélange*, and nations could not be 'new races in the making', if that is the biological function of nationalism, without continued sexual adaptability. Moreover, if prejudice were a natural instinct it should be more strongly directed against the purer alien types, which is not the case in many regions. In the West Indies, according to Lord Olivier (3, 1929), prejudice is stronger against the 'mixed bloods'

than against the blacks, owing to the greater social and economic encroachment of the coloured, which has not yet reached the point of reorienting the white attitude, as is happening in New Zealand. The natives of South Africa, on the other hand, still suffer more acutely from repression than the coloured, whose importance as a competing group is less than it is in the West Indies.

In short, consciousness of ethnic affinity or divergence has never influenced human relations in a basic way. In tribal times, concern for the maintenance and expansion of territory obviously did not extend to the preservation of 'racial uniforms', as Sir Arthur Keith supposes, for the uniforms had become patch-work suits even in those days. That was to be expected in a society in which tribal expansion was secured by the simple practice of destroying or enslaving the conquered males and taking the females as wives or concubines. At a later stage of development, as Lord Bryce pointed out many years ago, nations have neither waged war nor refrained from it for racial reasons. The Great War provided the anti-racial spectacle of white civilisation not only engaged in a determined effort to destroy the flower of its stock, but employing hordes of coloured soldiers to contribute to the process. And during this outbreak of collective insanity, and for some time after it, the British and American attitude towards miscegenation was relatively tolerant when compared with the bitter hostility towards Anglo-German alliances within the same ethnic group.

Finally, very young children should show signs of prejudice if it were inherited, but it is generally known that they do not, unless educated to a sense of superiority (B. Lasker, 4). White children normally play on equal terms with black, and become devoted to coloured nurses. That is an experience so common to those who have lived in the tropics that it needs no elaboration.

It seems, therefore, that prejudice has no biological significance, apart from the factor of sexual competition. We see this influence, in combination with the economic factor, in such widely separated regions as India and Samoa, where the social ostracism of hybrids, supported by definite proscriptive measures, who had previously been identified with the paternal groups, coincided with the coming of white women and the growth of resident white communities. In the United States, the operation of the sexual factor is still more evident, for there the Negroids are themselves Americans actuated by the same national and economic spirit as their white compatriots. Obviously, neither economic conditions and feelings against recently liberated slaves, nor the sinister connotations of blackness, can account fully for a prejudice so intense that it frequently reaches the pitch of mob hysteria, generally in connexion with supposed sexual offences or 'insults' to white women.

These accusations are, of course, rarely justified. 'In one part of New York City, to take one example,' writes C. S. Johnson (Weatherford and Johnson, 3), 'there were in one year more white persons indicted for rape in the first degree than there were Negroes even *accused* of the crime throughout the United States over a period of four years; and more evidence is required by a New York jury than by a hostile mob bent upon lynching. A predilection for sex crimes could scarcely be assigned to a race, with an average population of eight million over a period of thirty years, of which number 675 were *charged* with the crime.' Such a record compares more than favourably even with that of a 'model' country like England, where rapes and fiendishly executed sexual murders form the staple diet of the press. They mirror contemporary repression and frustration, which do not find a complete outlet in the stupid devices of syndicated ballyhoo.

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The sexual *motif* is conspicuous throughout the literature of ethnic persecution: in the sadistic floggings, often followed by pickling and applications of hot wax, and mutilations of slavery days; in the incredible torture of chain-gang prisoners so graphically exposed by J. L. Spivak (7. 1); in the 'correction' of natives in South Africa and elsewhere; and in the orgies sanctioned by lynch law.

The calculated savagery against helpless slaves, unjustified even by the codes of a semi-barbaric age, is well known, but here are two examples taken from the evidence submitted to Parliament in 1791 (E. Rickword in Cunard, 7. 1). They are comparatively mild. The first records that 'Capt. Ross has seen a Negro woman, in Jamaica, flogged with ebony bushes so that the skin of her back was taken down to her heels. She was then turned round and flogged from her breast down to her waist, and in consequence he saw her afterwards walking upon all fours and unable to get up.' The second refers to the experience of Mr. Hercules Ross, who 'saw a young female suspended by the wrists to a tree, swinging to and fro. Her toes could barely touch the ground and her body was exceedingly agitated. The sight rather confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the master was just by seemingly motionless; but on looking more attentively, he saw in his hand a stick of fire, which he held so as occasionally to touch her private parts as she swung. He continued this torture with unmoved countenance, until Mr. Ross, calling on him to desist, and throwing stones at him over the fence, stopped it. . . .'

And there is an instructive letter, quoted by Lord Olivier (7. 2), written by a sporting Tommy during the Jamaica Rebellion. Here is a fragment: 'We slotered all before us; we left neither man or woman

or child, but we shot down to the ground. I must tell you that I never see site like it before as we taking them prisoners by a hundred per day—we saved them for the next morning for to have some sport with them. We tie them up to a Tree and give them 100 lashes, and afterwards put a shot into their heads. . . . Dear father and mother—I must tell you that I never seen such a site before in my travels. I seen from fifty tow sixty men shot and hung everey morning of them. . . .’

One more extract to modernise our samples of good fun for the repressed. Writes W. L. Dabney (in Cunard, 7. 1): ‘Valdosta, Georgia, May 1918. Eleven lynched. Into the bodies of two men seven hundred bullets were fired. The Negro Johnson was shot, his body was mutilated, dragged through the streets of Valdosta and burned! Mary Turner, the wife of one of the victims, said that her husband had been unjustly treated, and that if she knew who killed him she would have warrants sworn out against them. For saying this she too was lynched, although she was in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Her ankles were tied together and she was hung to a tree, head downward. Gasoline and oil from the automobiles near were thrown on her clothing and a match applied! While she was still alive, her abdomen was cut open with a large knife and her unborn babe fell to the ground, where its tiny skull was crushed by the heels of the beasts in human form!’ Walter F. White (in Calverton, 7. 1) relates that when a white Southerner, who was telling him of these brutalities, got to the high-lights of his story, ‘he chuckled and slapped his thigh and declared it to be “the best show, Mister, I ever did see. You ought to have heard the wench howl when we strung her up.”’

I have quoted these incidents not so much as examples of persecution, which must inevitably continue while discrimination is defended and sex education is neglected, but as examples of the funda-

mental nature of 'racial' prejudice. They support the argument that this phenomenon must be regarded as a sexual psychosis (Berkeley-Hill; MacCrone, 4), involving the complex reactions of desire, resentment, jealousy and revenge, and associated with economic conditions. It is a psycho-pathological state comparable to insanity, as E. Franklin Frazier shows (in Cunard, 7. 1). It conditions high emotional tension and attempts to reconcile the consequent mental disharmony with the personality as a whole through defensive rationalisations, such as the paternalising of Southern whites, or the familiar statement that lynching is a necessary defence of womanhood. In this analysis, the charges brought by white women against coloured men appear in their true light as projected wishes, the mob hysteria that follows being stimulated by subconscious knowledge of repressed attraction. An interesting study of the projection of desire and its milder consequences, which the reader may know, is provided in E. M. Forster's novel, *A Passage to India*.

One need hardly add that such a disease inhibits social capacity and the ability for impartial judgments. This diminution of intellectual efficiency is apparent in the striking paucity of achievement in the Southern United States, in the savage degradation of the Jeffersonian tradition revealed by lynch law and the amazing scenes and statements associated with such typically Southern frame-ups as the Scottsboro case. This sample of Negrophobic lust, which has aroused public indignation throughout the world, resulted in the arrest of nine Negro youths on a false charge of assaulting two white prostitutes, in the face of overwhelming testimony to the contrary and the denial of one of the girls concerned. They have been awaiting judgment in an Alabama prison since March, 1931, their case progressing in late 1935 to the point of coloured jurists being ordered on the rolls by the Supreme Court, which put the State of Alabama in the position

of being unwilling to accept the ruling but powerless to disobey it openly. Early in 1936, justice and sentiment were reconciled by admitting a coloured juror and shooting one of the prisoners, while manacled to another, in the police car in which he was taken from the Court.

Intellectual decay, and its sexual associations, is also shown in the organised opposition, often amounting to terrorism, to radical attempts to investigate the American colour problem. When Miss Cunard, for example, was collecting material for her unique anthology, a revolting campaign against her was started by the yellow Hearst press. It was followed by an outbreak of anonymous letters, most of which were unprintably obscene. The following Ku Klux Klan threat is among the more gentlemanly efforts: 'Miss Nancy Cunard you are insane or downright degenerate. . . . If I saw one of your publications I would be the first to suppress it. Furthermore I and a committee are appealing to the U.S. department of labor to have you deported as a depraved miserable degenerated insane. Back to where you belong you bastard. If you dare to make any comparison you had better look out for your life wont be worth the price of your black hotel room. You for your nerve should be burned alive to a stake, you dirty low-down betraying piece of mucus. . . .'

These are the effects of 'race' prejudice. To return to causes, we may define it as the ideological disguise of vested interests (Hertz, 3), as a mutually restrictive psycho-economic disease developed during the period of Protestant colonisation and Western technological civilisation (Toynbee, 1). It is not a biological instinct but, as Lord Olivier says (3, 1927), 'a secondary product of repressive institutions and social conventions which have arisen not out of an initial aversion to coloured races, but out of an undisciplined interest in taking advantage of this weakness and ignorance to use them for the white

man's profit, and of the reactions of such institutions and oppressions in breeding contempt and fear in inferior minds'.

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Colour prejudice occupies the stage of human relations so conspicuously that our discussion has inevitably clustered around it. But it is essentially comparable with national, communal or minority, and class prejudice, which evidently increases the argument for eliminating the concept of racial prejudice. They are all, so to speak, overlapping varieties of the same species, the differences being quantitative rather than qualitative, and determined by changing social values and the intensity of the conflict involved.

The dominance of colour prejudice in the social scene must therefore be attributed primarily to the unmoral economic relations between technically advanced and backward groups, and not to ethnic differences which are deliberately used to rationalise aggression. The English, for example, are perhaps as nearly related to the Mediterranean peoples of Northern India as they are to the Welsh, but prejudice against the more exploited Indians is very different in magnitude from that against the Welsh. Moreover, anti-Indian feeling and Churchillism in England has risen conspicuously in response to successive injuries to British trade, through Congress boycotts and restricted scope for opportunism in India.

Among the British Islanders themselves, to illustrate the qualitative similarity between colour and national prejudice, the manifestations of internal hostility appear to have increased with the growth of the spirit of self-determination, though one would expect, if Sir Arthur Keith's race-building theory were right, that active prejudice would decrease in proportion to the degree of isolation achieved. I doubt if any serious Irishman would agree with him that Irish

political leaders were not moved 'by any belief that separation would bring their country an economic gain. The material prosperity of their country did not weigh with them: they reverted to the pre-economic phase of the world's history when race-building took preference to all other considerations.'

For, rightly or wrongly, the manifestations of young nationality and introversion in Ireland, as in India or Wales, such as rhetorical insistence on the indigenous culture, are associated with belief in economic gain and desire to retaliate against a protracted domination injurious to the prosperity and self-respect of the people. The factor of race-building is obviously unimportant where two nations of similar ethnic stock are concerned, though a false racial concept may be used by the Irish to stimulate national solidarity, and by the English to cover up their atrocities in Ireland. To an impartial observer, self-determination within the British Islands is therefore an utterly ridiculous spectacle, which has been created by clashing capitalistic and religious interests. In Soviet Russia, for all the ethnic and cultural divergences of its component parts, race-building and race mixture are not contemporary issues.

In communal prejudices, the influence of similar economic factors is again observed. Eurasians, for example, are often ridiculed for their attitude towards other natives and colour prejudice among themselves. But it is human enough, as V. Latorre-Bara states (in *Cunard*, 7. 1), for the half-caste to make 'every effort to affiliate himself as closely as possible with the dominant race, to which he will proclaim his kinship, while categorically denying his ties with the race that is dominated, and which, from that very fact often repeated, finds itself more and more disadvantaged all round. Consequently it is nowise strange that the dominant race attempts to and succeeds in drawing the maximum of profit from this tendency of the half-caste.'

He rightly adds that this strategy is achieved by 'the handing out to him of sundry small, flattering jobs which allow him to believe in a certain measure of superiority on his part over the "inferior" race. These jobs, naturally, come under the heading of minor State offices (public force, governmental clerkships, etc.). Or else the same kind of employment is found for him in private or business enterprises, employment that carries with it a certain measure of responsibility, jobs such as overseers, foremen, etc. In this manner the half-caste is used as an instrument of oppression by the ruling races. . . .'

In other words, the half-caste not only derives compensatory satisfactions (E. Freeman, 1) from his prejudices, but uses them to resist reduction to the lower level at which the other natives are deliberately confined, and to maintain himself in the reserved occupations which he 'enjoys'. He is prepared for these key-positions of continued exploitation by a priest-ridden and ridiculously expensive system of 'European Education', which teaches him to despise his coloured ancestry and to take a ludicrous pride in the 'great traditions' of his white heritage. A sample of this kind of encouragement is furnished by J. R. Glorney Bolton (7. 4).

But fortunately this method of supporting aggrandisement is only partly successful. For it involves 'keeping the half-caste in his place', thus failing to make of him a whole-hearted ally. He will despise natives and protest his loyalty to the whites, but he also develops a considerable hatred for the rulers, its intensity being correlated with the extent to which he feels the discrimination against him. In India, one may hear Eurasians speak contemptuously of 'damned niggers' and 'white bastards' almost in the same breath. In that country, too, the economic *motif* of allegiance is emphasised by the changing attitude of Eurasians, associated with declining economic privileges and the inspiration of the Indian

struggle for freedom, towards the motherland they had previously ignored. To-morrow they may abandon the fatherland on which their predecessors glued their vision and their hopes.

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It appears, then, that any kind of group prejudice functions inefficiently as part of the machinery of sexual and economic competition in a capitalistic world. It helps, on the one hand, to provide some measure of protection against exploitation and cultural invasion; and, on the other, to safeguard exploiters from the assimilative power of the exploited. Naturally, therefore, it is most acute where minority rule or severe social conflict is involved.

The position of many white groups under Oriental autocracies offers instructive and salutary examples of resistance to cultural invasion. Western Christians, as A. J. Toynbee (1) and other historians have shown, have often been forced to accept the humiliation of ghetto existence, notably under the Moghuls in Bombay, the Manchus in Canton, and the Shoguns in Japan. Dutch traders were confined to the island of Deshima (off Nagasaki) for more than two centuries (1641-1858), and had to pay in self-abasement for the concession of an annual visit to the Shogun capital at Yedo. Here they were compelled to cut capers for the entertainment of the Court and to trample on the Cross, which Jesuit proselytism had taught the Japanese to regard as a symbol of danger to their cultural institutions.

The British were held in equal contempt not only by the Japanese but also by the Chinese. There is a delicious expression of the Chinese ego in the famous letter despatched in 1793 by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung to His Britannic Majesty, King George III. It has been quoted frequently, but the following fragment will bear repetition: 'You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas; nevertheless, impelled by your

humble desire to partake of the benefits of our civilisation, you have despatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial. . . . I have perused your memorial: the earnest terms in which it is couched reveal a respectful humility on your part, which is highly praiseworthy. . . . As to your entreaty to send one of your nationals to be credited to My Celestial Court . . . this request is contrary to all usage of My Dynasty and cannot possibly be entertained. . . . Our Dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated into every country under Heaven, and kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures. It behoves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display even greater devotion and loyalty in future, so that by perpetual submission to Our Throne, you may secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter. . . . Tremblingly obey and show no negligence.'

The use of prejudice by exploiters to maintain their unity and sense of superiority, of which we have already seen some samples, is reflected even in the connotations of certain words in colloquial usage. The English occupation of the Pale, a small area near Dublin, during the early days of oppression in Ireland, gave the language the expressions 'outsider' and 'beyond the pale'. Western colonisation gave so derogatory a meaning to the once-cherished word 'native' that its use, in its original sense, is fast becoming extinct. He is now a hardy soul who would dare call a pugnacious simpleton a native!

For, as A. J. Toynbee (1), writes when 'we Westerners call people "Natives" we implicitly take the cultural colour out of our perceptions of them. We see them as trees walking, or as wild animals infesting the country in which we happen to come across them . . . and seeing them thus as something

infra-human, we feel entitled to treat them as though they did not possess ordinary human rights. They are merely natives of the land they occupy ; and no term of occupancy can be long enough to confer any proscriptive right. Their tenure is as provisional and precarious as that of the first trees which the Western pioneer fells or that of the big game which he shoots down. And how shall the "civilised" Lord of Creation treat the human game, when in their own good time they come to take possession of the land which, by right of eminent domain, is indefeasibly their own? Shall they treat these "Natives" as vermin to be exterminated, or as domesticable animals to be turned into hewers of wood and drawers of water. No other alternative need be considered, if "niggers have no souls". All this is implicit in the word "Natives", as we have come to use it in the English language in our time. Evidently the word is not a scientific term but an instrument of action: an *a priori* justification for a plan of campaign.'

And here is an example, taken from D. C. De Waal's *With Rhodes in Mashonaland* (quoted by Olivier, 3, 1927) of the actions and sentiments it inspires. Moved by the memory of trekking natives, this child of imperialism writes: 'It was a pretty sight to see them march—all in faultless step and everyone dressed in white cloth. They were young, tall, strong Matabele, with beautifully shaped bodies. As we passed them each one politely saluted us. Again I thought, "What excellent labourers these men would make for the white man!" If Kaffirs only knew the advantages of serving under white masters . . . and they would have a fair opportunity of hearing the Word of God, for wherever the white man is, there also are churches and preachers. As it is, there is now a general scarcity of labourers: Kaffirs can live so easily that they decline to be dependent on the European.' This noble passage, so touchingly Christian

and colonial, is too typical and revealing to need comment.

So much for Mr. De Waal in sentimental mood. Now listen to him when he feels 'so sad and out of humour', because he has lost a pipe and a precious palm-nut which he, fond father, had wished to give the little De Waals. 'I abandoned my intention', he writes, 'of going on with the rest of the party, and resolved to set out instead in search of my palm-nut. But the rest of the party would not hear of my turning back . . . so it was at last decided that Roeping and January (his native servants) should return in the wagon's track and find the missing things, *failing to do which we promised to give them each twenty-four lashes.*' Of such fine men was the Empire born.

And their spirit lives, how strongly is evident even from such temperate studies as those of S. C. Bose (7. 4), J. Nehru (7. 4) and G. Padmore (7. 5). The sjambok and the lathi are still wielded with impressive vigour by pale patriarchs and their courageous women-folk when they are a trifle sad, sadistic, out of humour or merely maintaining discipline, sometimes so successfully that their victims die. But accidents will happen, authority must be upheld, and all the best people know that dogs and natives cannot be properly trained without the periodic corrective of a really sound thrashing.

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The thesis of this chapter now seems to be sufficiently established. We have seen that the concept of prejudice as an innate racial instinct is a fallacy, and even the most confirmed sceptic must agree that it is an unproved and widely opposed theory on which it would be extremely unwise to build a social policy.

We have seen, too, that group prejudice of any kind is an acquired, plastic characteristic which, one may

add, is never universal among all the members of a particular group. Also, it is injurious both to those who exercise it and those who are affected by it. But fortunately it is educable. And because it restrains achievement and inhibits harmony, we should set about educating it, instead of deluding ourselves with the paradoxical idea that 'prejudice without arrogance' is essential to human development. We must abdicate our sacred egocentric illusions, not rationalise the dysgenic folly that racial growth through isolation and parallel development is an unalterable evolutionary plan.

For human history is the story of progress by fusion and elimination towards comparative uniformity of form and ideals in the face of conflicting forces. 'The human race', wrote Turgot, 'observed from its first beginning, seems in the eyes of the philosopher to be one vast whole, which, like each individual in it, has its infancy and its growth.' And it is with the stimulus of this spirit of unity that mankind will pass from contentious adolescence to constructive and peaceful maturity.

Prejudice has no place in rational Civilisation.

The works of Osiris, said Plutarch, travelled the world on their universal mission of civilisation. Here we have a brief glimpse of the half-caste's rôle in the process.

4. THE HALF-CASTE HELPS OSIRIS

THE Eugenics Society has a horror of reds and a weakness for purples, but is otherwise quite a catholic body. So its Council hospitably includes a British Israelite, K. B. Aikman, whose pride in the achievements of the ten lost tribes apparently quickens his interest in the dangers of genetic indiscretion.

Some of the results of his diligence, and no one may deny that he is a painstaking and selective student, find expression in a recent paper (5, 1935) marked by a certain Biblical profundity and much biological ignorance. In it he establishes to his own satisfaction the Scriptural abhorrence of racial mixture—and what the Syriac oracle abhors we, too, must avoid. He supports his thesis with many impressive quotations, but it would appear that in Dr. Aikman's Bible the many exhortations against ethnic prejudice do not occur. In ours, however, we may read such statements as this: 'One law shall be to him that is home-born, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you' (*Exodus* xii, 49), which is repeatedly emphasised in the Old Testament, as in *Leviticus* (xix, 34) and *Numbers* (xv, 15).

In the New Testament, one need hardly add, the keynote is unity: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Jesus Christ.' (*Galatians*, iii, 28.) And in *Romans* (ix, 26) there is this grim warning to the arrogant: 'And it shall come to pass,

that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye *are* not my people ; there shall they be called the children of the living God.'

Dr. Aikman also ignores the gracious story of miscegenation in the Book of Ruth, and if he is aware of the Divine oversight which permitted both mixture and illegitimacy in the heritage of Christ, he is too respectful or astute to mention it. The proof, if we may accept it as proof, is in Matthew's genealogy. He shows that Christ counted among his numerous ancestors Ruth, the Moabitess, and Phares and Zara, the unlawful twin sons of Thamar (*Genesis*, xxxviii), who had 'played the harlot' with her own father-in-law and through him was 'with child by whoredom'. For Christians, the pedigree of their Master is, in fact, the most salutary if subtle comment on ethnic and social pride in the Scriptures.

The earlier Biblical insistence on ethnic purity must therefore be attributed to the circumstances of a primitive tribal people. It is more than offset by more elevated teaching. But even if it were not, it would be difficult to reconcile the discrepancy between early Omniscient precept and later Omniscient practice implicit in the lives of Ruth and Christ. Also in the cultural stimulus of ethnic interchange, for hybridisation has always played an important part in human development.

Indeed, the genesis of civilisations requires, as A. J. Toynbee (1) and H. Schneider (2) have shown, contributions from many ethnic groups. Few civilisations, if any, have arisen as the result of uniracial effort, and it is significant that none has been created by Nordics alone. Incidentally, this very fact is a convincing argument against the idea of racial superiority and inferiority. For, in the process of fusion, barbaric populations have often been included, and it is obvious that if they had been racially inferior they could not have been successfully assimilated. The Scots, as Professor Toynbee reminds us, might well

have been called a barbaric and inferior 'race' barely two centuries ago. To-day they contribute the most progressive elements of material advance to the British Empire.

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This concept of multiracial civilisations is widely supported. William McDougall (4, 1920), who can scarcely be called an exponent of miscegenation, claims that the material supremacy of Western civilisation has been maintained by the 'frequently repeated blending of allied stocks'. R. B. Dixon (2) states that 'there have been, from earliest times, many places, many occasions when amalgamations between two or more of the great fundamental types have occurred; and from these blendings, I am tempted to believe, have arisen again and again the cultures or civilisations which mark the progress of the race'.

Thus, while miscegenation may have assisted the decay of the peculiar character of early Egyptian culture, as Sir Grafton Elliot Smith (5) and others suggest, it must also have helped to spread the elements, with much of their superstructure, of civilisation discovered by the Egyptians. We cannot reckon the measure of their influence, but must not fail to credit those early hybrids for their share in the dispersal of the works of Osiris on their universal 'mission of civilisation'.

In view of the controversy associated with the origin of civilisation, it should perhaps be added that if the Sumerian civilisation preceded that of Egypt it merely increases the antiquity of the importance of miscegenation in cultural diffusion. Even L. A. Waddell (2), who generously emphasises the 'pioneer' status of his highly Aryanised researches, stresses the extent of ethnic mixture in early times. He feels that 'the developed Egyptian phase of civilisation' must be attributed to 'the happy blending of the Aryan

civilisation of the fair, long-headed Nordic ruling race with the native racial elements in serpent-worshipping Ancient Egypt'.

But whether 'Civilisation is Aryanisation' or not does not concern us here, though Sir Grafton Elliot Smith's opinion (1) that the Nordic nomads did no more than develop the civilisation pioneered by the Mediterranean race four millenia before Christ is more convincing. Certainly, Colonel Waddell's statement that 'racial impoverishment in the Aryan element tends to the weakening of civilisation' can only be supported by the logical dexterity to which Aryanists are reduced.

Coming to a less contentious period of history, the remarkable diffusion of Greek culture, which overflowed from India to the Far East and Oceania eventually to leave its impress upon the Maya and Aztec civilisations, has been given much publicity by the Diffusionists, with whose extreme enthusiasms I do not associate myself. But it has not been sufficiently emphasised that the cultural renaissance of the Epic Period (600 B.C. to A.D. 200) in India coincided with exposure to Hellenic influences, first through the Persian conquests and later through the Alexandrian and Bactrian Greek invasions. Two thousand years before the commencement of the Epic Period an advanced state of Elamite civilisation had existed in Northern India, to which the ruins of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro bear witness (MacKay, 7. 4), but in the intervening centuries India was dominated by Vedic mythology, and material contributions to civilisation seem to have lapsed completely, though the Vedic Period (1500-600 B.C.) was preceded by 'Aryan' immigration on an extensive scale.

But with the advent of Buddhism and Hellenic contacts the sleeping country revived. New works were born and the old reshaped. The Laws of Manu were given the metrical form in which we know them

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to-day ; the medical teaching of Sushruth was made available as the *Sushrutha Sambhita* of Nagarjuna ; an amazing epitome of erotic knowledge was perpetuated in the *Kama Sutra*, or Aphorisms on Love, of Vatsyayana ; the Alexandrian astronomy, and some mathematics, was adopted in several treatises in which the Greek terminology is still evident ; the *Kalpa Sutra* forestalled Euclid and the decimal notation was invented ; the arts flourished and the great Epic poems were composed ; architecture and sculpture, extensively influenced by the Grecian style, were revived ; the people ' clothed themselves in the finest muslin, built lofty minars, and lived in magnificent palaces ' ; and the renowned university of Taxila attracted scholars from as far afield as China.

The rational philosophy of Buddha himself was probably associated, as Sir Grafton Elliot Smith suggests, with the repudiation of hieratic conventions in Ionia through the work of Thales of Miletus. Certainly, it is difficult to believe that two similar revolutions in thought arose concurrently as mere coincidence, particularly when the possibilities of Ionian contacts with India in Buddha's time are considered. It is noteworthy that Hecateus of Miletus, a contemporary of Thales and Buddha, was the first Greek historian to write of India.

After twenty centuries of cultural quiescence, it seems reasonable to suppose that these extraordinary outbursts of vitality in India could not have been effected by an aloof imitativeness alone. They must have had the stimulus of more intimate contacts with the Persians and the Greeks. The extent of Græco-Indian mixture, from the Alexandrian conquest to the termination of Bactrian Greek invasions by the Kushan Kings, who also had a strong veneer of Hellenic civilisation, can be readily imagined and is still noticeable in the peoples of Northern India. An illuminating facet of miscegenation in those times is furnished by the fact that Alexander encouraged

more than ten thousand of his soldiers to marry the women of the country.

And when the Greeks were ousted by Chandragupta Maurya, large remnants of both the Alexandrian and Seleucid armies continued to live with their families in India, under the terms of peace provided by the treaty between Chandragupta and Seleucus Nicator. The Indian King himself married the daughter of Seleucus, and if his grandson Asoka, whose extension of the new culture was commemorated in no less than 84,000 *stupas*, was not actually descended from this alliance, he was at least exposed to the influences of a mixed heritage. It is therefore evident that the presence of a mixed community played an important part in stimulating the Golden Age of India, and there are indications that another Eurindian people may be intimately associated with the renaissance imminent in that country to-day.

The cultural stimulus of ethnic mixture in Epic India is paralleled in Greece itself, where the basic Pelasgian or Ægean population appears to have made no striking contributions to history. The peaks of Greek intellectual virility followed invasions and dilution of the dominant stock. Similarly, the re-awakening of culture which followed the Dark Ages in Europe started, as Professor Dixon has said, 'at a time when, after a period of centuries during which wide shiftings of peoples had occurred, the new fusion of the elements had begun.'

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And now let us turn from examples to some consideration of the processes concerned in the diffusion and syncretism of religious and cultural ideas through the formation of marginal communities.

The most striking fact observed in such communities to-day is that they invariably tend to form distinctive

units, allied to the socially dominant stock, in the population complex. This isolation is usually maintained, chiefly through the operation of economic factors, for considerable periods of time, but ultimately it succumbs to the assimilative power of the numerically dominant stock, either endemic or immigrant. The characteristic traditions of the invading stock are accordingly afforded the opportunity of becoming deeply ingrained in a mixed community, which perpetuates them long after its ethnic resemblance to its creators is completely obscured. Eventually, these traditions are therefore blended with the culture of the natives or later invaders.

In Greece, for example, the physical characteristics of the basic population have undergone no conspicuous change in the last three thousand years, though the impressions of immigrant culture are evident. In Crete, Venetian domination between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in a considerable influx of typical Alpines. Their customs and names survive, many Cretan families having Venetian names, but the Venetianised Cretans present, on the whole, the same Mediterranean features as their Greek-named fellow citizens. In middle Europe, the Magyar language and customs persist, though the physical evidence of Magyar mixture is insignificant. The Turks also retain their Asiatic traditions, though so extensively mixed with various Mediterranean and Alpine stocks that the original Turk type, as illustrated by the Kirghis, is now seldom observed. More recent examples of cultural persistence, furnished by the Luso-Indians, the Pondoland hybrids, the Bonin Islanders and others, will be found in the chapters which follow.

The syncretism of religious beliefs, through compromise with the old and the new, is a familiar process in which miscegenation also plays an important part. Constantine preserved his throne by paganising Christianity, itself a mongrel religion indebted not only

to the Jewish teachers but to Chinese and other philosophers as well. Kanishka, greatest of the Kushan Kings, placated his conscience and his heterogeneous subjects by professing the Buddhist doctrine, while also worshipping Greek and Hindu gods. This plasticity was widely adopted by the Buddhists, who soon degraded their philosophy by the incorporation of Brahmanistic rituals. And with the Eastward spread of Buddhism, the godless religion carried the Hindu deities as far afield as Japan.

In our own times, it is well known that the spiritual solace afforded by Christianity does not always prevent converts from paying tribute to the more colourful idols of their polytheistic environment. As Aldous Huxley (7. 2, 1935) writes: 'Four hundred years ago, as in Europe a thousand years before that, the missionaries had to baptize the local deities, had to preserve popular local customs under other Christian names, had to varnish native superstitions with a Christian significance. . . . Just as, in Europe, elements of the old fertility religions lingered on for centuries in the witch cult, so in America, side by side with the official Catholicism, and, in the minds of the natives, intimately associated with it, there lingered, and still linger, considerable traces of pre-conquest religions.'

In this connexion, his description (7. 2, 1934) of the rites held once every Maya year in Momostenango ('the place of altars'), Guatemala, is quite typical. Thousands of Catholic half-castes gather to pay sacrificial tributes to Mundo, after which 'they repair to the parish church, and there confess their sins to the representative of the white man's God. In the intervals of their religious exercises they get drunk and otherwise amuse themselves. And after two or three days of piety and jollity they go home.' Which, as Mr. Huxley observes, is all in 'the grandest of classical traditions', widely followed in modern practice.

In India, to support this statement, large sections of

the Eurasian population, among which cultural and economic impoverishment inclines the Protestants to seek the charitable intervention of Catholic saints and the Catholics to resort to indigenous or imported magic, are firmly addicted to witchcraft and the charms of a variegated ritualism. They take an enthusiastic, if less spectacular, part in the festivities associated with the Hindu *Durga Poojahs* and the Mahomedan *Mohurram*, and are willingly victimised by a great band of itinerant fortune-tellers and consulting sorcerers, some of whom acquire a considerable reputation. In Calcutta, there used to be, and perhaps still is, a 'consultant' with the picturesque name of 'John Across the Water', whose home on the other side of the River Hooghly, in the district known as Howrah, was the scene of regular Eurasian pilgrimages from the city. Sometimes Eurasians themselves acquire magical powers, their spells and potions being so reminiscent of the *Obeah* cult, and the Hoodoo practices described by Z. N. Hurston (7. 1), that they are evidently connected with African and West Indian influences on their social habits.

The Eurasians of India who, as the sagacious Albuquerque anticipated, have been the most potent factor in the spread of Christianity in that country, deserve some further consideration as an example of the ways in which a mixed community influences cultural and religious diffusion. The many ethnic strains that have contributed to their growth have resulted in the preservation of numerous words, customs and traditions of Latin, Iberian and West Indian origin which have become imbedded in the Indian mores, in spite of the restrictive effects of Anglo-Indianism. The Portuguese influence is particularly strong, both in language and habits. It is evident, for example, in numerous and widely favoured delicacies of the table, and in such words as 'almirah' and 'almari' (from *almario*), which are used for 'cupboard' in Anglo-Indian English and in Hindustani.

A wardrobe, too, is invariably a 'hanging almirah' among Eurindians and Anglicised Indians.

In this way, the Eurasians have given a variety to the national life, which should influence the development of the composite culture that must surely mark the progress of the 'New India'. And that influence can be given a consciously purposive direction by the critical evaluation of their 'great British traditions', supported by the utilisation of the gifts of their varied heritage for an intimate understanding of other cultures. As my friend Philip Cox has reminded me, a Portuguese or Negroid Eurasian could, if he were not ashamed of his ancestors, approach Portuguese or African culture with a feeling and aptitude that 'Anglo-Indians' may rarely if ever possess, thus helping to enrich and integrate the culture of his community and country. More than that, he would be adding his little quota to the spirit of internationalism, for cultural diffusion is the bedrock of international understanding. There is here a vision of potentiality, a new concept of social purpose, that is infinitely fuller than the painfully smug Anglo-Indianism of to-day.

In so far as religious diffusion is concerned, it need only be added to what has been said above that Eurasian history shows that miscegenation not only starts the process of conversion to the paternal religion, but the presence of a resident Christian community, for whom educational and other privileges are provided, ensures its expansion even when intermarriages become restricted. Official solicitude for the spiritual interests of 'Anglo-Indians' finds partial expression in the extravagant system of Christian (formerly misnamed 'European' and now still more absurdly described as 'Anglo-Indian and European') Education, which largely owes its development, and its protection in the new Constitution, to Eurasian effort. Indeed, in Bengal, that remarkable Eurasian youth, Henry Derozio, though himself inclined to rationalism, was

not only concerned with the rapid spread of Protestantism in the nineteenth century, but also with the Anglicised departure from orthodox Hinduism known as the Brahmo Samaj movement of Raja Ram Mohun Roy.

This 'European Education' creates an atmosphere which, with the associated benefits enjoyed by Eurasians, naturally puts a premium on conversion as a preliminary to imitativeness and such identification with the privileged group as circumstances permit. The Paradisiacal prospects of more than six million Indian Christians are therefore due, in no small measure, to a handful of mongrels who, we must infer from Dr. Aikman's researches, are themselves only likely to secure the position of poor relations in their heavenly habitat.

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This brief sketch of the cultural value of miscegenation needs no further expansion to prove that ethnic interchange has influenced social evolution, extending, disintegrating and enlarging cultures, from the dawn of civilisation.

And these processes will continue. Moreover, if they are controlled by reason, they constitute the most potent force for that state of constructive brotherhood which is gradually passing from idealism to reality. That is the historical lesson for those who are not awed by the worship of supposed authority or submerged in tribal darkness.

But, unfortunately, the renewed popularity of a defunct jingo poet, and the admiration excited in certain quarters by the development of the *Deutschland über alles* spirit, does not suggest that the lesson will be easily learned. In every human group, the tendency to persevere in its own 'truths' still dominates dispassionate and objective study.

So the despised mixed breed, with his potential danger to the 'purity' of the parental groups, will

continue, for some time, to be despised. It is actually a compliment, which will be appreciated by those mongrels who have the qualities and tolerance attributed by Huxley to their kind.

And there is always the consolation that the dogs bark but the caravan moves on.

acquire pure Aryan virgins to cook their *Apfelstrudel*, Jews with similar aspirations being regarded as *Rassenschänder* or racial ravishers, for whom appropriate homes of social correction are provided.

That many of these followers of the Nordic *Kult*, including the majority of the Nazi leaders, are themselves of non-Nordic appearance, is no stumbling-block to its progress. For they have Professor Kossinna's much-quoted assurance that 'Nordic souls may often be combined with un-Nordic bodies (provided, of course, that they are not Semitic ones), and a decidedly un-Nordic soul may lurk in a perfectly good Nordic body.' Hitler, for example, is a better German than a good German because he is an Austrian who wanted to be a German. He is a better Nordic than the blondest Nordic because he has that paramount asset a Nordic soul (Jaensch, 2). So the crusade progresses.

It progresses because men are easily flattered. Early superstitions and folklore put a premium on fairness. The sagas capture the imagination. It is pleasant to imagine that one is the neotype, at least spiritually, of the knights of old, those fine, fair men in shining armour who hunted the dragon and rescued blonde damsels in distress, who sought the Holy Grail and crushed the infidel in strange lands, leaving their noble wives with little more protection than a chastity belt could afford.

And for those who want to feel kinship with men of intellectual prowess as well, Professor Guenther and his associates have shown that almost every great man the world has ever known was a Nordic. Indeed, they have proved, in inimitable Teutonic fashion, that the Nordics created and maintained civilisation, and that its continuation depends on the purging of non-Nordic elements and the regeneration of the Nordic race. That most of the civilisations of the past have been non-Nordic, and none of them exclusively Nordic, does not deter their scholarship.

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So the *vox ariani* threatens to become the new *pox populi*. In America, always a receptive country, it has become a festering sore on the body politic, a great reservoir of infection for Europe itself. Among the 'carriers', the most notorious are Madison Grant, who bewails *The Passing of the Great Race* with Nordic thoroughness, and Lothrop Stoddard, the Rothermere of racialism.

Mr. Stoddard is a prolific and successful writer. He has all the qualities that make for success in his particular sphere: a terse style, a flair for picturisation, an encyclopaedic knowledge of current journalese on 'racial problems', and an infinite capacity for logical gymnastics and subtle appeals to popular prejudices. The crowd likes bogeys and Mr. Stoddard is an adept at giving it what it likes: yellow perils, black menaces, the nefarious designs of Soviet Russia, where 'art, literature, knowledge, even science, are proletarianised. Immemorial institutions like private property and the family are incontinently scrapped. Lastly, religion in the traditional sense is to be extirpated and replaced by a new social gospel whereby man worships his collective self.'

Above all Mr. Stoddard has a thoroughly mediocre mind, which has earned for him the distinction, among other mediocrities, of being 'a brilliant thinker'. One does not need to go beyond the first sentence of his latest book (3, 1935) to take the measure of his brilliance. 'Our troubled times', he writes, with the air of one who has made an original discovery, 'present an amazing paradox: a gigantic interplay of building up and breaking down; a simultaneous process of synthesis and disintegration.' It reminds one of a first lesson in biology (anabolism, katabolism: metabolism), or a synopsis of Hegelianism, but Mr. Stoddard is probably aware that few of his admirers will recall lessons in biology or Hegel, if they ever had any.

Now listen to his historical scholarship. 'The Great War', he says in his delightfully crisp way, 'shattered the comity of the West.' Yet any schoolboy knows that the very idea of Western comity is essentially a post-War product. And to Mr. Stoddard's credit let it be said that in a forgetful moment he himself states that America's entry into the War brought about 'a broadening of the traditional comity of Europe into a *real white-Western comity*, with reciprocal ties and duties between all its parts throughout the world.'

But contradictions do not disturb him: he writes as the argument of the moment demands. So one may learn from him that 'the utter contrast between the economic systems of the old East and the modern West makes any attempt to combine the best points of both while eschewing their defects seem like striving to reconcile irreconcilables and almost as profitless as trying to square the circle.' But a few pages later one is embarrassed by the statements that modern Japan represents 'the most extraordinary transformation in all recorded history', that it is 'one of the wonders of the ages.' The diligent reader of his work may also discover many facts which historians appear deliberately to have ignored. For instance, the Spanish bureaucracy will be pleased to know that their rule in Latin America 'had maintained peace and social stability. Ignorant mestizos and brutal Negroes trampled the fine flowers of culture underfoot.'

As an anthropological instructor Mr. Stoddard is no less unique. Here is a typical passage: 'Race is a physiological fact, which may be accurately determined by scientific tests such as skull-measurement, hair-formation, and colour of eyes and skin. In other words, race is what people *really* are. . . .' Again, 'The significance of race as *proved* by the biological sciences has impressed public opinion in many lands.' And there is, naturally, the old bogey of 'the persistence of Negro blood', which in the Stoddard circle explains, among other things, 'the notoriously unstable

characteristics displayed by the truly mongrelised populations of tropical Latin America.'

Evidently, Mr. Stoddard has failed to keep abreast of his anthropological reading. In fact, one may search his book in vain for a reference to the modern work of any outstanding anthropologist. His authorities are not only propagandists but mostly propagandists of another generation, while in his topical references carefully selected newspaper articles are the most conspicuous. But he does not need accepted authorities: he creates his own. So his readers are assured that Lapouge, whose Aryanism Huxley and Haddon (1) describe as 'carried to the most ridiculous lengths', is an 'eminent scientist', one of a 'reflective minority'. Hans Guenther, whose work stinks in the nostrils of every anthropologist who cherishes the ideals of his science, is transmuted by the magic of Mr. Stoddard's pen into 'one of the most scholarly members of the Nationalist-Socialist party.' The obscure Dr. F. Garcia-Calderon, who published a highly coloured book on Latin America over twenty years ago, is paraded as 'probably the most competent Latin-American student of racial problems'.

Among the élite a place is found also for R. C. Harris and Renato Kehl, the former because of his 'exhaustive researches', the latter because he is a 'prominent biologist'. The exhaustive researches to which Mr. Stoddard refers are the impressions of a sort of Cook's tour of Latin America, which Dr. Harris (5) recorded in a short article printed in 1922. Of Dr. Kehl's prominence in the biological world I am ignorantly unaware; and, in so far as Mr. Stoddard is concerned, it seems to rest on a brief note (5) on ethnic elements in Brazil, a very brief note concerned more with his racial opinions than the subject of his title.

The following sample of Dr. Kehl's opinions will explain his position in the Stoddardian firmament: 'The cross, in place of being a superior product, is a

non-consolidated product, a half-way between the two elements which have constituted it. These two elements separately have their physio-psychic characters, stable, harmonious and compatible. . . . To sum up, the crossings between different races are a disturbing element of natural evolution, and accordingly do not constitute a means of ethnic perfection. Those who affirm the contrary have not any scientific base. From the point of view of eugenics, I am opposed to all the unions of races, that is to say, those between individuals of the white race and the Negro, the Indian, the yellow man and so forth. The mixtures cannot be judged in comparison with any pure race: only a false view could accept its equality or its superiority.' The humour of this remarkably dogmatic passage will appeal to those who are content, like myself, to be in the category of fools without 'any scientific base.'

But, in defence of this 'scientist' from Rio, it must be said that he is quite moderate when compared with Nordophils like Hermann Gauch. And even this product of the Nazi régime is no absolute extremist. For him Negroes are merely subhuman, but there was once a devout Christian, Charles Carroll, who spent fifteen years and 25,000 dollars to prove that Negroes are not men at all. The essential argument of his work, which was published in 1900 by the American Book and Bible House of St. Louis under the attractive title *The Negro a Beast or in the Image of God*, is both simple and logical. It is that man was created in God's image, and God as everyone knows does not look like a black man. Therefore, the Negro is not a man but a beast.

A less industrious but more modern student, whose message I present to Mr. Stoddard, is a certain H. D. Kissenger. Writing in *The Gentile Front* (Chicago) for July 28, 1935, he says that 'if God had intended but one race he would have made but one race. . . . America is in sad need of the racial

pride that put the hit in Hitler. . . . It is murderous to emasculate a race. Is it any wonder that God's wrath is upon the earth as He looks askance at our Cross-Blood puzzles? . . . Blood is regarded with less concern than beer although the blood that God put in our veins is *Sacred* as well as the blood His Son shed on the Cross. It must not be polluted. . . . Polygamy, which produces white full-bloods, is immeasurably to be preferred to miscegenation which breeds half-castes. God never did anything by halves. . . . The State has a right to decide that the State Race shall reproduce its kind. *If it does not punish those who sanction interracial marriages, then Judge Lynch must get on the job.*'

So much for the ways of Aryan propagandists. Complacently deaf, when they are not deliberately dishonest, their rustic cackle is to them the murmur of the world.

§

And now examine the people from whom this insistence on racial purity comes. A casual reading of any reputable textbook on the races of man will show that the purest Europeans are the result of age-long mingling of widely divergent racial elements, including those of the Mongolians and Negroes, especially in Scandinavia and in Southern Europe respectively.

To-day the blondest Nordics are probably mere phenotypes, and a decreasing phenotypic minority at that, as G. Pitt-Rivers (3) shows and H. Guenther (3) deplores. And it is unlikely that irrational propaganda, which is invariably the last stand against decay, will save this group from further assimilation. For a dominant type is essentially a function of relative numbers, isolation is becoming increasingly impossible under modern conditions, and mate-selection, on which Nordic associations place much stress, has to contend with many opposing factors, such as personal desire and recessiveness.

In fact, Europe is now so much mongrelised that it is difficult to establish the broader geographical and economic concept of a white race on biological grounds. Emerson, writing as long ago as 1856 (*English Traits*), put it well when he said that 'Each variety shades down imperceptibly into the next, and you cannot draw the line where a race begins or ends. . . . Moreover, though we flatter the self-love of men and nations by the legends of pure races, all our experience is of the gradation and resolution of races, and strange resemblances meet us everywhere.'

To support this argument, let us look a little more attentively at three 'Nordic countries': England, Scandinavia and Germany. In a general way the ethnic variety of the English people is so well known that English smugness and claims to ethnic superiority have exercised the wit of the literati for four centuries. There is a rich body of criticism from Shakespeare to such modern iconoclasts as Bernard Shaw, Winifred Holtby, Odette Keun, and G. J. Renier, whose entertaining answer (in *Tauchnitz*) to the question *The English: Are They Human?* enjoys a wide popularity on the Continent. Among American critics, Emerson was, in an angry moment, 'afraid that English nature is so rank and aggressive as to be a little incompatible with every other', while the exasperated poet, J. R. Lowell, felt that of all the 'sarse' that he could call to mind:

'England doos make the most onpleasant kind:
It's you're the sinner ollers, she's the saint;
Wut's good's all English, all that isn't ain't;
Wut profits her is ollers right an' just,
An' ef you don't read Scriptur so; you must.'

But most virulent of all, perhaps, is Daniel Defoe, whose satire (1701) on *The True-Born Englishman* deserves to be rescued from its comparative obscurity. Here is an instructive sample:

' Thus from a mixture of all kinds began
 That heterogeneous thing, an Englishman :
 In eager rapes and furious lust begot
 Between a painted Briton and a Scot ;
 Whose gendering offspring quickly learnt to bow
 And yoke their heifers to the Roman plough ;
 From whence a mongrel half-breed race there came,
 With neither name nor nation, speech or fame ;
 In whose hot veins new mixtures quickly ran,
 Infused between a Saxon and a Dane ;
 While their rank daughters, to their parents just,
 Received all nations with promiscuous lust.
 This nauseous brood directly did contain
 The well-extracted blood of Englishmen.'

And this is not sheer calumny, for English heterogeneity is so complex that it is difficult to unravel. Broadly speaking, among the earliest inhabitants of England were the Long Barrow Folk, a people of Mediterranean type whose great monuments indicate considerable intelligence and skill. They were followed (about 2000 B.C.) by the round-headed Beaker Folk, a vigorous Alpinoid people whose physical traits are remarkably persistent, F. G. Parsons (6. 1) noting, for example, that German prisoners of war from the most Nordic districts of Germany were conspicuously round-headed. In England, the descendants of these Beaker Folk are also found largely in the Army (portraits of soldiers in the old regular Army are strikingly Alpine), and in the more exacting forms of manual labour, such as mining.

It is supposed that the Alpine inflow continued till the land subsidence (about 1800 B.C.) which disconnected the British Isles from the mainland, since when Alpine immigration seems to have been negligible for many centuries. The successive waves of Nordic invasion started with the Celts (800–600 B.C.) and practically ended with the Norman Conquest, which provided England with the best of her Nordic 'blood', though not altogether *pur sang*. And, quantitatively, these

invasions were not as weighty as Nordophils would have us believe, William the Conqueror, for instance, bringing only ten to fifteen thousand soldiers, who were absorbed within two centuries, at a time when the English population is believed to have been about three millions.

The Roman occupation brought a fresh supply of Alpine and Mediterranean stock, supplemented by recent Negroid dilution and a fair sprinkling of pure blacks, to the country. Flemish labourers and Jewish traders followed the Conqueror in some numbers as the result of Norman architectural endeavour, and in the last six centuries many peoples, including Spaniards of Moorish origin, Indians, Chinese and Africans, have added their quota to the genetic intricacy of the English population. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there were 15,000 Negro slaves, apart from other coloured people, in England (R. Kuczynski, 2). To-day definite marginal communities are growing up in the larger ports, particularly in Liverpool, where Afro-English and Sino-English groups, isolated by prejudice, have grown to the point of exciting the anxiety of local authorities (M. E. Fletcher, 5). Since 1919, when two thousand Negroes suffered from the 'race riots' started by demobilised soldiers, these groups have learned, too, that they are not altogether exempt from mob law in this justice-loving little island.

The results of this age-long mixture are similar to those observed among the so-called mixed blood communities. The population is variable, but is growing towards uniformity. And it is of interest to note that the Nordic type is being increasingly eliminated, the majority of modern Englishmen being impressively Mediterranean in aspect. This denordisation seems to have been hastened in recent years by the direction of sexual selection towards the dark type. For there has grown up in the masses a feeling, stimulated perhaps by the new quest for sunshine and

journalistic emphasis on coloured sexuality, of correlation between dark complexions and physical and mental vigour. Thus, the heroes of modern English fiction, especially when the writers are women, are frequently 'dark and handsome', with hands that are 'brown and capable', while even the heroines are tending to become vivacious, vivid and intelligent-looking brunettes rather than the gentle and somewhat pathetic blondes of an earlier fashion in bourgeois literature. Indeed, the tendency is so marked that the brunet complexion is often patiently acquired when it is not inherent, and one is tempted to believe that when a Negress becomes Minister for Health in England, as Bernard Shaw predicts, she will be popularly acclaimed.

There is, in fact, a definite inclination to ridicule the very fair, amounting almost to a colour prejudice in some areas, such as the South Coast resorts, which even finds more objective expression in British scientific opinion. Thus, Lord Raglan (3, 1933) evidently felt some satirical pleasure in the quite accurate statement that the Nordic record is 'a bad one. There is not the slightest evidence that the Nordics ever developed any civilisation of their own. What they had in early times they borrowed from their southern neighbours, and this debt they repaid by raiding, slaughtering, and destroying these neighbours whenever they had the chance. . . . Actions which, when performed by Zulus or Red Indians, are proof of the most abominable cruelty and brutality, are, when performed by Nordics, evidence of the most praiseworthy courage, enterprise and virility.'

There is emerging, too, 'a wholesome belief in the efficiency of mixed races', as Bret Harte put it in a letter to Havelock Ellis, who himself believes that ability is created by 'the union of unlike good elements on both sides'. And that opinion is certainly supported by his own splendid study of British genius (2), which not only demonstrated a high proportion of mixed

breeds among eminent Britishers, but emphasised East Anglia, an area of marked immigration and invasion, as being unusually fecund in the production of great Englishmen. His work also showed that more distantly related mixtures, such as English and French or Irish, were more productive of genius than nearly related ones, such as English and Scotch.

Evidently the British intelligentsia, if not as liberal as the French, may still be congratulated on retaining the elements of an ethnic sanity that is dying in America and is completely extinct, or at least suppressed, in Germany. And with the growth of a genuine workers' movement, the British people may yet attain the idyllic state depicted by Shelley :

‘ Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed but man :
Equal, unclassed, tribeless and nationless,
Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king
Over himself ; just, gentle, wise : but Man.’

§

In Scandinavia, the Nordic relics of the days of Viking piracy still flourish, but not as prolifically as those who remember their legends believe. For there is a strong Alpine element, especially along the Norwegian seaboard, and much admixture with the Mongoloid Lapps towards the north, and with the brachycephalic Finns along the east, coast of Sweden. The population of Denmark is even more generally mixed than that of Norway and Sweden.

The Scandinavian peoples are therefore considerably mongrelised, but they have caught the inspiration of the new eugenics. In Sweden, there is a State Institute for Race Biology at Uppsala under the direction of Dr. H. Lundborg, while in Norway the Winderen Laboratory provides Dr. H. Mjöen with a setting for his intriguing studies in disharmony. The ungovernable Nordicism of these exponents of Nordic purity has already resulted in the relegation

of the Scandinavian 'bastards', who are evidently regarded as physically defective and mentally unbalanced, to the status of marginal groups. This tendency to create unnecessary internal trouble forms an instructive comment on the utility of much supposedly eugenic endeavour.

Coming to Germany, I shall better avoid the accusation of prejudice by allowing Professors Huxley and Haddon (1) to speak for me. 'The ethnic character of the Germany of to-day', they write, 'is very largely what might be expected from the age-long mutual infiltration of Nordic and Eurasiatic peoples. In north-western Germany, Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, and Westphalia, the physical characters of the population approximate to those of Scandinavia and especially resemble the mixed type encountered in Denmark. East of the Elbe Nordic features become less common and less pronounced and skulls become broader. In the south, Baden Wurtemberg and Bavaria carry a definitely round-headed population, essentially Eurasiatic in physique. A line drawn from Breslau in the east through Dresden and the city of Hanover to Cologne, so as to divide the uplands from the plains, comes close to dividing the two main population-groups. But such diagrammatic treatment does not take account of the admixture of types continually and everywhere proceeding. When Eurasiatic and Nordic mingle, as has occurred in most parts of Germany, the broad skull-form of the Eurasiatics seems to occur with disproportionate frequency as compared with other characteristics.'

It should be added that the dilution 'continually and everywhere proceeding' includes contributions from Asiatic and Negro groups, and even to-day a stroll in the Kurfürstendamm is often as illuminating in this respect as a walk in the more colourful Boulevard St. Michel. During my last visit to Berlin, when I had the added advantage for three weeks of mingling daily with some twenty thousand people within the

confines of an exhibition, I was impressed with the large number of Eurasian, mostly Euro-Mongol, and mulatto types that I encountered. Ironically enough, one of the officials at the entrance to the exhibition, which dealt with 'The Wonder of Life' and the Aryan as 'the greatest wonder of all', was an unmistakable mulattress.

These impressions are not surprising in view of the Eurasiatic (Mongoloid) infiltration which Huxley and Haddon stress, while black dilution goes back in German history from their colonial period at least to Roman times. Yet a considerable fuss is made over the legitimate and illegitimate 'Black Bastards' resulting from the presence of coloured troops, not all of whom were black, during the French occupation of the Rhine. I have seen several photographs of these children, who number six hundred according to official figures, but two thousand according to other estimates. They are, on the whole, of pleasing and vivacious appearance, while a few, mostly of Eur-Annamite origin, are unusually beautiful. A deliberate selection of the worst-looking children represented in this series of photographs may be seen in the eugenic section of the sociological museum at Düsseldorf, and in a note by Wolfgang Abel (5). They are intended to illustrate the horror of the 'black peril' and France's crowning insult to the German nation, but many English friends who have seen these pictures have shared with me the failure to appreciate their horror.

What is horrible is the future that awaits them under Nazi malevolence. E. A. Mowrer states, in *Germany Puts the Clock Back*, that a party newspaper suggested that they should be slaughtered, along with others whose appearance showed the impress of the 'Negroid, Oriental, Near Eastern or Hamitic Race'. But that may prove a difficult undertaking, even in a country which recently purified itself by a 'purge of blood', and it is only fair to say that the official

attitude is more temperate. 'What we shall do with them', an important functionary concerned with *rassenpflege* (who himself bore the Mongoloid stamp!) said to me, 'we cannot yet say. Perhaps we shall sterilise them, perhaps send them to our colonies.' The mood and wishful thinking of this somewhat unguarded statement is revealing.

§

German Aryanism makes it difficult for an outside critic to preserve an impartial attitude towards the ethnic situation in that country, to avoid the error of blaming a people for the failings of a party. But, moved perhaps by the sentimental recollection of the kindness of many German friends, I feel it necessary to make the attempt.

On the credit side, I shall therefore admit that coloured persons in Germany enjoy, as many Indian students have told me, an infinitely greater freedom from rudeness and vulgar discrimination than they do among the British Islanders, even in a cosmopolitan city like London. The German people are among the most courteous and friendly in Europe, and the racialism to which they have been educated is not comparable to the lewdly expressed 'blackie' spirit of a semi-literate nation. It is the function of a deliberate, and in some ways one may almost say a tolerant, rationalisation of patriotic emotions and economic desire.

Racial determinism, which is somewhat different from prejudice alone, in accordance with the supposedly Divine plan, is the *motif* of its moralising. 'When a race follows the mysterious call of its own blood', writes W. Gross in the *Racio-Political Foreign Correspondence* published in April 1935 by the Bureau for Human Betterment and Eugenics at Berlin, 'and struggles untiringly towards the goal that has been set up for it by its Creator, when it lives according

to the law of its own being and in that way strives to shape the world inwardly and outwardly—only then does it fulfil its historical worth and justify its existence on this earth. It has been said, and one may believe that this accurately expresses the racial view held by the National Socialists, that each race on this earth represents an idea in the mind of God. That is just what we believe and therefore we call for a clear-cut differentiation between blood and blood, so that God's idea may not be blurred and caricatured in the half-breed.'

Waxing poetic, Dr. Gross adds that 'The rose must bloom and give out its perfume. The pear tree must bear fruit. Nobody will be so foolish as to ask whether in the great rhythm of life the one is of more worth than the other. Each has its own value, its own significance, and follows the law of its own nature.' Of course, all this floral sentiment is unworthy of a biologist and a scientific institution. It is sheer nonsense. But for many it represents a more tolerable kind of nonsense than the unctuous air of superiority assumed by British nit-wits in their relations with coloured people.

And British critics of Nazi administration, who criticise merely to demonstrate their own superiority and fabled appreciation of freedom, would do well to remember this. They should remember the vindictiveness of their own national spirit, their addiction to the tin-hat Imperialism of the late Mr. Rudyard Kipling and Sir Edward Elgar (the British Wagner minor), and the incredible smugness of these familiar lines from a typical children's poem :

'I thank the goodness and the grace,
Which on my birth have smiled,
And made me in these Christian days,
A happy *English* child.'

It is not suggested, of course, that British virtues should be obscured or German racialism condoned.

On the contrary, I feel that the former should be appreciated and developed, and that the latter cannot be too strongly condemned. But it would be intemperate to regard it, as so many do, as a peculiar failing of the German nation, from which the readers of *The New Statesman* are immune. Moralised ethnomania in Germany, and the lapses from tolerance associated with it, is not a genetic weakness but an economic weapon. It is the major by-product of the mood of national expansion, which has gradually been enlarged as a defence against the revengeful and humiliating terms of that masterpiece of Allied 'liberalism', the Versailles Treaty. During the Social-Democrat régime, when Berlin was probably the most liberal capital in Europe, Aryanism was no more than an emasculated serpent sporadically fed by angry capitalist patriots.

This economic interpretation is amply justified by the Nazi attitude towards the Jews. It is not a German movement, but the result of party tactics, a despicable attempt, shrouded in religio-racial fantasies, to stabilise a class by leeching a rich and successful minority with 'subversive' international sympathies. It is a blatant attempt to liquidate a group, accused of the curious crime of having created a disproportionate share of German wealth, culture and scientific achievement, against which Brown Shirt mediocrities are unfitted by attainment to compete. And in its very blatancy there is an implicit compliment to the Jewish people which, in the midst of its suffering, it naturally has little inclination to appreciate.

§

In concluding this exposure of Aryanism, it is necessary to stress the close connexion between eugenics and theories that not only account for the unhappy position of the Negro and the German Jew, but support the continued exploitation of the world's

workers. The appreciation of this unfortunate fact will not come easily to those who cherish the illusion that eugenics is the greatest philanthropic agency of our time.

For there is an impressive background for this exalting vision. The very word eugenics means 'well-born', an apt label for 'the study of agencies under social control which may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally'. The term and its definition, in which the word 'racial' loses its significance, combine to encourage the belief that the object of eugenics is the co-ordination and application of research in many fields to the improvement of individual and family life, thus operating for the benefit of humanity as a whole. I have therefore shared, and even defended, this attractive concept of an impartial biopolitical force, translating biological discoveries into social action and bringing a new sanity to human endeavour.

And the results achieved by Sir Francis Galton's followers certainly help to condition this view. They have given a tremendous fillip to the study of heredity; they have helped to lift the veil of obscurantism from marital and family relations; they have practically established the essentially liberal concept of voluntary parenthood; they have gained strength from the very inanity of the invective against them. But, as they grew in power, they expanded their influence by enlisting the support of persons of religious, social and political eminence, who saw in eugenics a welcome and inexpensive sop for proletarian distress. They compromised completely with Church and existing State. And in that retrogressive alliance they ceased to be the exponents, if they ever really were, of a science, and became the tub-thumpers of a movement, a Christian, capitalistic and intensely national movement. They ceased to guide, and began to be guided by those very forces of irrationalism and exploitation that they had

once promised, so it seemed, to reduce if not eventually to eliminate.

It is a sad story. To-day the comprehensive Galtonian concept lies embalmed in the archives of another generation. It proved too broad (or was it never broad?) for the specialistic little minds that approached it. And now it seems that, for all their irritating authodoxy, the late Mr. Chesterton and other 'high-grade morons', as a very reverend and very high-grade moron described them, are at least to be congratulated for detecting in the use of science an enormous potentiality for misuse. Indeed, it would appear that in a capitalist and Christian democracy the rational application of scientific discovery is only too often superseded by the rationalised application of pseudo-scientific ineptitude, when it is not outrageously abused for the creation of the more violent instruments of power, parasitism and banditry.

But what more can we expect when 'a system such as ours,' as Julian Huxley (2, 1936) has so opportunely stressed, 'a competitive and individualist system based on private capitalism and public nationalism, is of its nature and essence dysgenic'—a system which punishes radical intelligence and some of the genetically best types, but regards as eminently desirable the supposed virtues which make for success within it.

The capitulation of eugenics to vested interests is further emphasised by the lack of any international policy. In England, the eugenicist appears to the public mind on the platform of birth control and voluntary sterilisation for the degenerate poor, Professor E. W. MacBride (cautiously writing under his initials in a recent issue of *Nature*) even sadistically recommending sterilisation, which he regards as leaving 'a psychic wound which will never heal', as a 'punishment for parents who have to resort to public assistance in order to support their children'. In the Third Reich, he appears as the saviour of the Nordic Race, the sponsor of compulsory sterilisation, and the uncompromising

opponent of contraceptive measures. In Fascist Italy, he takes the social megaphone as the bearer of compulsions and inducements for the provision of more gun-fodder for Il Duce's dream of a new Roman Empire. In other words, eugenics in Italy is Fascist and Roman Catholic, in Germany entirely Nazi and Nordic, in England exclusively English, Protestant and smugly subservient to tradition and mediæval constitutional forms.

In such circumstances, the decay of the scientific aspects of eugenics to a narrow sphere of activity, for which provision is already made in the divisions of biological and medical science, is inevitable. And in its propagandist aspects, it cannot fail to be suspect among those who rise above religious and political attitudes to the outlook of world brotherhood and the universality of science. Indeed, these Shelleyan visionaries may rightly see in the eugenic movement the elements of a death-blow to individual, social and scientific liberty. As H. J. Muller (1), with whom such thinkers as Lancelot Hogben, Julian Huxley, J. B. S. Haldane and Joseph Needham are in substantial agreement, puts it, eugenics 'has become a hopelessly perverted movement . . . it does incalculable harm by lending a false appearance of scientific basis to advocates of race and class prejudice, defenders of vested interests of church and state, Fascists, Hitlerites and reactionaries generally.'

And this is not exaggeration. For racialism and nationalism reside in every eugenic organisation to-day. The Eugenics Society, for example, declares in its official *Aims and Objects* that 'In certain circumstances race mixture is known to be bad. Further knowledge of its biological effects is needed in order to make it possible to frame a practical eugenic policy. Meanwhile, since the process of race mixture cannot be reversed, great caution is advocated.' This guardedly dogmatic statement is certainly not based on any critical survey of the available information on

miscegenation, and ignores a considerable body of scientific opinion which is opposed to it. Indeed, one of the Society's own Councillors, Julian Huxley (2, 1936), has told it that if 'the alleged inferiority of half-castes . . . really exists, it is much more likely to be the product of the unfavourable social atmosphere in which they grow up than to any effect, which would be biologically very unusual, of their mixed heredity'—an attitude which the Editor of *Nature* (April 11, 1936) has very strongly supported. But whether or not Dr. Huxley's impartiality will influence the Society's interpretation of the studies on ethnic crossing which it is somewhat belatedly and inadequately encouraging remains to be seen. Hitherto its knowledge has always been reconciled with its policy.

Then again the Eleventh Congress of the International Federation of Eugenic Organisations recently approved a resolution by J. Mjöen in which it was stated that 'the investigation and practice of racial hygiene is of the highest and most vital importance to, and cannot be excluded from, any civilised nation'. The resolution concludes by recommending to the governments of the world that they should study 'the problems of heredity, population politics and race-hygiene and apply the results of such studies to the welfare of their people'. And on it the German Bureau of Human Betterment and Eugenics gleefully comments that evidently 'German ideas and the work done by the Germans in the international efforts that are being made in the field of racial eugenics are looked upon as of primary importance and are receiving the most careful attention'.

The significance of both resolution and comment needs little emphasis. They postulate the continued domination of scientific endeavour by political and religious parties, and the corresponding subscription of scientific opinion to dogmas, under the guise of impartiality and measures supposedly concerned with

the general good. They suggest the possible duplication of bourgeois Utopias ruled by the aggressive and noisy vanity of leaders claiming to be instruments of the Divine Will, but perhaps not insinuating as openly as the Führer (and Plato before, and the Italian 'Kingfisher' after, him) their knowledge of 'how a people must be misled if the adherence of the masses is sought'.

And against these indications of an extended *pox populi* it is the duty of those who value the scientific ideal, who hope for an equalitarian society and the restoration of eugenics to a position of dignity, to protest with all the emphasis at their command.

It is 'the right of the men of the future to ask that of the Intelligence of to-day'.

Telling the story of the Eurasians of India. They have made history, and perhaps they are destined, as their greatest poet felt, 'to dissipate the gloom that long has made their country but a tomb, or worse than tomb, the priest's, the tyrant's den.'

6. FRUIT OF THE PAGODA TREE

NUMBERING more than half a million in British Indo-Malaya alone, the Eurasians are the answer to an ignorant but persistent couplet. Among them, the new style 'Anglo-Indians' or Eurindians form the largest, most misrepresented, and oldest group, its origin dating from the Portuguese occupation in the early sixteenth century, but more especially from intermarriages in the days of the East India Company between Britishers and native women or the indigenous descendants of previous European invasions. Portuguese, Dutch and French genes, however, are more prevalent than is generally supposed, since British domination has induced a natural tendency to give foreign names a more patriotic flavour—Leal to Lea, Correa to Currie, D'Silva to Silver, Ingels to Inglis, and so on (Moreno, 7. 4).

It is difficult to draw sharp lines of demarcation between these Eurasians and other groups resulting from the march of European civilisation. The Domiciled Europeans, who would be more accurately described as Domiciled Indians, are socially identified with them, Anglophilic Indian Christians seep in at the lower strata, Portuguese-Indians leak in continuously at all levels. These Goanese, as they are more generally called, are found in some numbers throughout the coasts of India. They are the remnants of early Luso-Indian mixture, and have lost their

Lusitanian physical characteristics so considerably that, as far back as 1826, Bishop Heber was able to observe that 'the Portuguese have become as black as Caffres'. But they retain some connexion with the land of their fathers through the Portuguese colony of Goa on the West Coast, speak a patois of the Lusitanian tongue (as well as English and a vernacular), dress in Westernised mode, and perpetuate the lofty names of their paternal ancestors, whose customs and Catholic religion they proudly maintain.

Born in sight of the sea, with a traditional capacity for music and good cooking, the Goans find a convenient outlet for their talents in employment as musicians, cooks, stewards, and cabin boys in the mercantile marine, the landlubbers among them finding similar employment, under more lucrative conditions than they could find at home, in the larger cities of India. These immigrants generally become permanent residents, and extend their efforts to petty trade as confectioners, small hotel-keepers and so on, the more successful seeking greater social advantages through identification with the Eurasian community, in which the Portuguese tradition, as shown in its food and domestic customs, is widely prevalent.

Their occupations and associations with a defeated Power have created a vulgar contempt for the Goans which they certainly do not deserve. But the power of ridicule has resulted in attempts (Campos, 7. 4) to distinguish between Goans and the more obvious and successful Lusitanian hybrids by communal isolation of the latter as Luso-Indians. They have not, however, been successful, for the major reason that British imperialism in India gives Luso-Indians an advantage in merging with the 'Anglo-Indian' community, to which they have contributed many distinguished members.

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So there are the constituents for a considerable melting pot in India, to which Armenians, Jews, Parsees, West Indians and other Negroids, and various immigrant hybrids add further ingredients. All these groups share a certain similarity of social status and custom, which makes for intimate contacts and fusion in spite of herd resistance.

This resistance takes its most ludicrous form in the periodic protests of Eurasian leaders against the assimilation of 'foreign elements' by their community (a distinction which is not applied to the equally foreign Europeans), many of its social ills being ascribed to the infiltration of Indian Christians and the descendants of manumitted slaves, both Indian and African, of old European and Eurasian families in India. This urge for purity among the impure—an expression of the psychoses created by immediate economic circumstances and the ways of a privileged white group—has little purging value. Assimilation goes on and will go on. And it is therefore refreshing to find at least one Eurasian critic, K. E. Wallace (7. 4), with a sufficient appreciation of social values to regard it as a 'decided advantage'.

But Mr. Wallace's gentle voice is drowned by the shrill screaming of those who encourage Anglophilic communalism in a community of Eur-Afro-Asian origins. The effects of this regrettable spirit are excellently illustrated in the present position of British West Indians in India. Themselves a people of mixed heritage, they have always been so intimately identified with the Eurasians that it is now impossible to separate them by any rational standards. But in the new Government of India Bill provision is not made for them in the comprehensive definition of the term 'Anglo-Indian', a grossly unfair discrimination which will presumably leave them socially identified with the Eurasians, but with no well-defined

voting rights within the corresponding communal electorate.

The anomalies and disruption implicit in this obliteration of an established status are visualised by Philip Cox as follows (*in litt.*): 'To begin with, divided status will cause anomalies and loss of political homogeneity in our small group of people. Take the case of my sister, who is married to a Domiciled European and has a grown-up son. If voting rights in the Anglo-Indian constituency are not conceded to us, then she would vote in one communal category and her husband and son in another. The same thing would happen in other cases, and would tend to weaken our position and to make our people collectively indifferent to their voting rights. Also, it would give us no chance to make our influence felt inside the councils of the Anglo-Indian community, with whom our cultural and economic fortunes are inseparably linked. . . . Then again, this bi-communal status would cause our people to be perpetually on the defensive. They would have to face constant enquiry and interrogation as to their position in the Anglo-Indian category in the matter of scholarships and appointments. They may even have to undergo the burden of litigation to defend their cultural and economic rights. The imposition of this possibility of constant worry and uncertainty upon a people of small means and limited general knowledge of affairs is manifestly unfair.'

This quotation represents one side of a dismal picture. From the Eurasian viewpoint, too, it is obviously undesirable to weaken communal strength by excluding a virile and industrious group which has contributed so much to Eurasian achievement. But, hypnotised by their European descent, Eurasian leaders have refrained from supporting Mr. Cox's representations on behalf of his people. Such are the suicidal consequences of Anglomania and the imperialist policy of divide and rule.

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The superficial communal distinctions noted above leave an official 'Anglo-Indian' group of 138,395 individuals in India and Burma (19,200 in Burma), according to the Census of 1931, a total representing an increase of 22·4 per cent between 1921 and 1931, and of 122·9 per cent between 1881 and 1931. These figures are admittedly underestimated, the Census Commissioner, J. H. Hutton (7. 4), believing that the total should be raised to 168,400, while others feel that the number returning themselves as Europeans, but actually living as Eurasians, would raise the total to at least 200,000, which is probably the best estimate.

The principal distribution of this population, as stated in the Census report, is 336 *per mille* in transport, 103 in public administration, 107 in industry, 94 in trade, 84 in the professions, 56 in the public forces (chiefly police), 32 in agriculture, and 31 in domestic service. In other words, the community, which is concentrated in the larger towns of the major provinces of Madras (28,694), Bengal (27, 573), Bombay (16,218), and the United Provinces (11,272), is essentially urban, literate and dependent on Government employment, Sir Henry Gidney (7. 4) reporting that 'about 85 per cent of its working members (including Domiciled Europeans) are employed in the Central Government of India services.' The political meaning of these figures is further emphasised by the fact that there are already three times as many new style 'Anglo-Indians' as there are Europeans in India.

The history of this depressed but nevertheless important community is of considerable interest. Popularly regarded as affording 'pathetic evidence of the incontinence of Tommy Atkins', in actuality their growth has been encouraged along quite formal lines from the early days of the Company 'in imitation of ye olde Dutch politiks'. Thus, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, addressing the

President of Madras in 1678, wrote that 'The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a pagoda to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.'

Moreover, intermarriages were not confined to the lower social ranks, many romantic alliances between Europeans and Indians of noble birth being recorded in the annals of the community. Job Charnock, founder of Calcutta, married a Hindu woman whom he snatched from the sacrificial pyre. Each of their three daughters married Englishmen of prominence: Elizabeth and Katherine married William Bowridge and Jonathan White respectively, while Mary captured Sir Eyre Coote, one of the most spectacular figures of Clive's time. General Sir Hugh Wheeler, commandant of the trapped garrison at Cawnpore, had an Indian wife, so had the famous French General, Count Benoît de Boigne, whose son, Charles, married the daughter of a French nobleman, from whom the later counts have descended. His successor, General Perron, married a half-caste girl from Pondicherry, Mlle. Deridon, whose brother, Major Louis Deridon, and cousin, Colonel John Hessing, served with distinction in Perron's army. One of Perron's two 'copper-coloured children', who aroused much interest on his arrival at Hamburg, married M. Alfred de Montesquieu. The masterly wife of Dupleix, who was said to be the force behind her husband's brilliant administration in India, was also a half-caste.

Walter Reinhard, otherwise known as 'Sombre', a ruthless adventurer who fought his way to fame and the acquisition of the principality of Sirdhana, married

the general good. They suggest the possible duplication of bourgeois Utopias ruled by the aggressive and noisy vanity of leaders claiming to be instruments of the Divine Will, but perhaps not insinuating as openly as the Führer (and Plato before, and the Italian 'Kingfisher' after, him) their knowledge of 'how a people must be misled if the adherence of the masses is sought'.

And against these indications of an extended *pox populi* it is the duty of those who value the scientific ideal, who hope for an equalitarian society and the restoration of eugenics to a position of dignity, to protest with all the emphasis at their command.

It is 'the right of the men of the future to ask that of the Intelligence of to-day'.

Nawab of Cambay who had been adopted by the Moghul Emperor. His family continued the tradition of marrying into the Imperial House, and created a complicated pedigree containing the descendants of an English barony, the Emperor Akbar Shah, the Kings of Oudh, and the Princes of Cambay. Alan Hyde, third Lord Gardner, was the grandson, according to H. Compton (7. 4), of a Prince of Cambay, and the nephew of the Emperor of Delhi and the King of Oudh. The 'Eurasian Barony' is now dormant, pending decision on the rightful heir. Hearsey, head of an outstanding Eurasian family (Pearse, 7. 4), married Gardner's sister-in-law.

The story of such Eur-Indian alliances could be expanded into a romantic book, which would illuminate the history of many aristocratic families now free from the suspicion of having been touched with the tar-brush. For example, the second Earl of Liverpool, to whom belongs the record of being Prime Minister of England for fifteen years, inherited Eurasian 'blood' from his mother's side. The house of Bourbon and that of the Earl of Duffus have left Eurasian descendants, those of the latter still taking pride in the family name of Sutherland. Talleyrand married Madame Grand (*née* Catherine Worlée), a woman of remarkable beauty who shared her early life with Philip Francis, hero of a memorable duel with Warren Hastings. She was born at Tranquebar of 'Danish parents', but is believed to be, and does not look unlike, a Eurasian. The half-caste progeny of a Bengal judge, according to H. Skipton (quoted by Wallace, 7. 4), have given their name to part of a well-known English seaside resort. He adds that 'Colonel Meadows Taylor, the brilliant Indian officer and man of letters (he will be remembered chiefly for his *Confessions of a Thug*), married a lady of mixed race and has left capable descendants. The clever descendants of a famous Royal Academician, and of his son, an equally famous naval officer, are the children of a native

mother. . . .’ It might be useful to lift the veil of obscurity from such records.

It should be recognised, too, that many Eurasians of eminent birth owe their European heritage to their mothers’ side. The Indian nobility from Akbar downwards have shown a preference for European and Eurasian wives. Lady Fanny Parks (7. 4), who was much enamoured with the family and personality of ‘my dear Colonel Gardner’, records that the King of Oudh’s favourite Begum was a fair Eurasian, the daughter of a highly placed military officer. Lady Parks was also present at the marriage of Prince Ungun Sheko, a lineal descendant of the Emperor of Delhi, to Susan Gardner, and provides an interesting description of the prolonged ceremonies. In more recent times, the contributions of Indian Princes to ethnic mixture have been recorded so frequently by the Society papers that it is neither necessary nor possible to recall individual instances. The Aga Khan’s youngest son is a Eurasian, the wife of Prince Duleep Singh is the daughter of the ninth Earl of Coventry—one could go on indefinitely.

In India, it should be added, some of the best Indian families are really Eurasian, and they are being extended every day. There are, for example, the Shelley Bonerjee’s of Calcutta, renowned for their culture and association with moderate politics. R. C. Bonerjee, who is very Eton (but actually Rugby) and Balliol, is a familiar figure in the social life of that city. Then there are the children of the late J. M. Sen Gupta, Nationalist leader and universally respected Mayor of the city for many years, of S. K. Dutta, the economist, and of many other prominent Indians.

This glimpse of Eurasian origins indicates that the general belief, as expressed by E. Moore (5), that ‘only the degenerate outcastes of each colour are so regardless of the conventions as to marry outside the community’ certainly does not apply to Eurasians in India, or to any major group of marginal men created

under earlier concepts of religious and national expansion, as typified by the practices of Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch colonisation, and in the rules of the French *Code Noir* of 1685.

And history is supported by anthropology, P. C. Mahalanobis (6. 2, 1928) having demonstrated that in Bengal cultural status has been a determining factor in Indo-European unions. To-day, the members of the Eurasian and other mixed communities marry mostly within their groups, the suggestion that they are heavily augmented by the bastard begettings of 'dago' indiscretion being a figment of the romantic side of Mr. Eldon Moore's enthusiastic interest in heredity.

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The fostering spirit of the East India Company continued to the middle of the eighteenth century. Till then, Eurasians were treated in all essential respects as British, as resident aliens with certain privileges which created a transient prosperity. Yet the seeds of their future depression were sown in this period of paternal solicitude. For, like their fathers, they were not permitted to acquire land or to live further than ten miles from the nearest Presidency town or Company's settlement, which left them with no economic foundations for an independent status in the body politic when the progress of British imperialism modified the concept of paternal responsibility.

This fundamental misfortune was later aggravated by the growth of active discrimination and Indian emancipation. In 1786, Eurasian orphans were denied the previous facilities for completing their education in England, and five years later the spirit of this economically impelled attitude was emphasised in the decree that 'no Person, the son of a native Indian, shall henceforth be appointed by this Court to appointments in the Civil, Military or Marine services

of the country.' This proscription excluded Eurasians from the upper grades of the Company's services, but its shareholders were not content. They demanded that Eurasians should also be disqualified for subordinate appointments in the Army, and in 1795 it was accordingly resolved by the Governor General in Council that they should be eligible only for non-combatant service as bandsmen and farriers.

The effect of this sudden change of policy on a landless community, with no agricultural or industrial traditions, can be readily imagined. The immediate result, apart from the draining of the upper levels through emigration and concealment, was that large numbers were thrown out of the Army in which they had distinguished themselves. As H. A. Stark (7. 4, 1926) puts it, they had 'gallantly fought under Clive at Arcot, Sriramgaon, and Trichinopoli in the Second Karnatic War; and at Wandiwash under Eyre Coote. They perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta. They were in the line of battle at Plassey. They participated in the campaigns which put an end to French aspirations in India. They were massacred with their English comrades by the soldiery of Mir Kassim at Patna (1763), fought in the battle of Buxar (1764), and were present at the capture of Allahabad. They took part in the Rohilla War (1772), the first Maratha War (1775), and in the Second Mysore War (1780).'

But the policy of discrimination, strengthened perhaps by the spectacle of successful mulatto rebelliousness in Haiti, took no heed of loyalty and service. Many Eurasians therefore attempted to circumvent disaster by joining the armies of native chiefs or free-lancers like Perron and George Thomas, while some raised, or otherwise associated themselves with, irregular regiments—and took what opportunity offered.

The situation may so have been saved, but the economic sense of the 'Anglo-Indian' community has always been obscured by allegiance to its white

inheritance. Thus, when the Maratha wars were resumed they responded recklessly to the British call for assistance, leaving their Maratha employers in spite of financial temptation and the risk of death. The heads of Vickers, Dodd and Ryan, three senior officers in Perron's Maratha army (of whom Colonel Vickers at least was a definite half-caste) who had rendered conspicuous service to Holkar, were impaled on lances on Tiger's Hill as a token of the Maharajah's displeasure, but the warning went unheeded. The exodus continued, and on every front recalled Eurasians distinguished themselves on behalf of the 'Fatherland' which had so recently disowned them. One of them, General Jones, achieved successful command of the Bombay army during the campaigns of 1803-1805.

They had returned hoping perhaps for a reorientation of the British attitude towards them, but they were disappointed. In 1806, Viscount Valentia had reported to the Directors of the Company that 'The most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal is the increase of half-caste children. They are forming the first step to colonisation by creating a link of union between the English and the natives. In every country where this intermediate caste has been permitted to rise, it has ultimately tended to its ruin. Spanish America and San Domingo are examples of this fact. Their increase in India is beyond calculation; and though possibly there may be nothing to fear from the sloth of the Hindus, and the rapidly declining consequence of Mussalmans, yet it may justly be apprehended that this tribe may hereafter become too powerful for control. . . . With numbers in their favour, with a close relationship to the natives, and without an equal proportion of the pusillanimity and indolence which is natural to them, what may not in future time be dreaded from them?'

So ingratitude was fortified by alarm. And on the resumption of peace, Eurasian loyalty was again

rewarded by an order, issued in 1808, discharging them from British regiments in India. The progress of communal adversity was thereby vastly accelerated, for those who had answered 'the call of the blood' not only found their fathers strangely immune to the poetic pathos of the soul-stricken appeal 'O England! who are these if not thy sons?', but also found the native states inhospitable to hirelings whose paternal allegiances were so easily stirred.

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And the native states were evidently right. For during the Indian Mutiny, Eurasians were again to the fore, both as combatants and as the cogs which drove the essential machinery of transport and communications. Indeed, it can be said with some truth that the electric telegraph and the resourcefulness of George Brendish, a Eurasian lad of eighteen, described as an 'English boy' in Fitchett's *Tale of the Indian Mutiny*, saved India for the British.

When the Mutiny broke out at Meerut on May 10th, 1857, Brendish was one of three Eurasian telegraphists stationed at Delhi, of whom the most senior, Charles Todd, lost his life in trying to restore the communications the mutineers had destroyed. With his remaining companion, J. W. Pilkington, Brendish stayed at his post endeavouring to warn other stations of the situation at Delhi. He finally succeeded in communicating with Amballa, whence his message was transmitted to other military cantonments in the Punjab. It was therefore possible to prevent an organised sepoy revolt by promptly disarming them throughout the province.

It is pleasant to record that, with Pilkington and others, Brendish managed to escape to Amballa, where he joined the Meerut Light Horse, concluding his military service at Benares in 1859 as a transferred member of the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry. He

rejoined the Telegraph Department in that year, and remained in it till 1896 with no more mark of official appreciation than the gift of a month's pay, which was thirty rupees (£2) at that time. Forty years after this signal reward he was, however, retired on full pay, and emerged from obscurity in 1902 to receive the Medal of the Victorian Order from a Government which had at last decided that something, but not too much, should be done about him.

In the Punjab, another Eurasian helped to complete the work of salvation which Brendish's timely telegrams had begun. The handful of British soldiers stationed there could not cope with the depredations and attacks instigated by the native regiments (totalling some 38,000 sepoys) they had disbanded. The situation was, in fact, assuming a seriousness which could only be averted with the aid of loyal Indian troops, whose integrity would be assured by respect and affection for their commander.

That commander was found in General Henry van Courtland, C.B. By tradition, training and inclination a soldier, van Courtland was at the time a civilian in the Punjab Service, which he had entered after a variegated military career under Ranjit Singh in times of peace and under the British during the Sikh Wars. He was therefore known to the Punjabis, as his father had been before him, as a soldier and friend, and consequently had no difficulty in raising and equipping a body known as the Harriana Light Horse. With them he re-established British rule as far as Rohtak, and aided the successful siege of Delhi by diverting a powerful section of the insurgents from that town. In fact, the Mutiny petered out in the Punjab with the triumphant progress of van Courtland and his men.

In other areas, too, Eurasian enterprise was largely responsible for swamping the rising flames of rebellion. In Calcutta, disaffection was silenced by the prompt courage of General Sir John Bennett Hearsey, a

member of an aristocratic and adventurous Eurasian family, and discipline maintained by a force of European and Eurasian Volunteer Guards. Bombay was saved by the firm resourcefulness, in disobedience of Government orders, of Charles Forgett, who had worked himself up from a subordinate position in the Survey of India to the position of Commissioner of Police of Bombay. Lord Elphinstone believed that without Forgett's prompt suppression of revolt in Bombay, nothing could have saved the rest of the Presidency, and after that, he said, 'Madras was sure to go'. Yet Forgett received no personal reward beyond a gift subscribed by a grateful public, and the praise of an administration which patronisingly felt 'that the expectations raised by the appointment of Mr. Forgett to the executive command of the Bombay Police have been amply realised.'

In Bengal, which at that time comprised all the British territories from the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra to the Himalayas and the Punjab, the Mutiny remained established as a nightmare reality for more than a year. An Empire tottered in the balance and may have toppled over without the support of the despised and suspected half-castes. They stood by their British kinsfolk to a man, paying their toll to the horrors of massacre and incendiarism, answering the call for men and more men to save the situation created by a blundering and oppressive administration, whose ignorance and vanity had reached its crowning folly in the affair of the greased cartridges. For these services they have been grudgingly praised by the overlords, and freely abused by the underdogs, who know the grim realities of the other side of the Mutiny picture, who know that the Eurasians helped to keep a nation in bondage, to hang thousands of their countrymen on the wayside trees of North India or blow them to atoms from the mouths of cannon. But, if they have any historical sense, the Eurasians themselves should feel neither excessive pride nor

shame in the part they played in 1857. They did what the social forces around them impelled them to do. And they did it well.

How well H. A. Stark (7. 4, 1932) has described. Some of his facts I have already used. Regarding the others, the members of the community may regard with moderated pride the contributions of their ancestors to the successes of the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry (one troop of which was commanded by Lieutenant De Hoxar, a Eurasian from a well-known family), the part played by the boys of the La Martinière College in the defence of the Residency at Lucknow, and by the largely Eurasian Madras Fusiliers in the relief of that city, and the individual exploits of gallant Eurasians like Blenman and Shepherd at Cawnpore, 'The Fort of Despair'.

Indeed, if military achievements should occasion pride (and why we should be proud of our follies I do not know), then the Eurasians can contemplate with satisfaction the roll of eminent names they have subscribed to the military annals of India : such names as those of Colonel James Skinner, C.B., of Skinner's Horse, which shattered Holkar's Mahratta hordes ; Colonel Henry Forster, C.B., a member of Skinner's regiment who later formed the Shekawatie Brigade ; Major Nairne, a man of unusual courage, who distinguished himself in the First Mahratta War ; Sir Robert Warburton, whose services in the defence of the Khyber Pass are known to all students of Indian history ; Major Hyder Young Hearsey, who forsook the advantages of free-lancing to join Lord Lake, bringing with him a cavalry regiment which he had raised ; and his sons J. B. and W. M. Hearsey (and their cousin and brother-in-law General Sir John Bennett Hearsey), whose Mutiny services were so conspicuous that even the British Government was moved to granting them large estates as a reward.

Among these heroes of Anglo-India, Skinner (Fraser, 7. 4) deserves more than a mere mention. A

man of habitual modesty and a great zest for living dangerously, he started life, after an orphan's education, as a printer's apprentice, found type-setting too tedious, got himself a post with Perron, raised the famous Yellow Boys (Skinner's Horse), and eventually joined forces with Lord Lake. When he died it was said of him that 'None of the Emperors of Hindustan were ever brought into Delhi in such state as Sekunder Sahib.' His generosity and freedom from conceit are expressed in the sequel to an incident on the battlefield. He had been helped by a passing untouchable woman, who gave him water as he lay, parched and seriously wounded, without the strength to reach safety. Her help, he said, had saved his life, and he showed his gratitude by sending her a thousand rupees, telling her at the same time that he would always regard her as a mother. He lived, as he died, like an Indian potentate, but in later years became a devout Christian. In Delhi, a mosque, a temple, and the magnificent Church of St. James stand as monuments to his religious sympathies and sexual democracy, to which an ample and distinguished family bear further witness.

To conclude this résumé of Eurasian military history, it should be recorded that during the Great War, more than half the adult members of the community saw active service, as combatants on every front, as munitions and transport workers, and as doctors, ambulance orderlies and nurses. Eurasians have also played an important part, which thrills their imperialistic leaders, in the control of Frontier unrest, the Moplah Rebellion, the Civil Disobedience Movement, and many strikes and economic crises in which they would better have participated. To-day, they form three-fourths of the Indian Auxiliary Force, the second line of British aggression, more euphemistically known as 'defence', in the country. Yet regular service in the combatant branches of the Army in India still remains closed to them.

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Evidently, the Eurasians have a definite place in the history of the British connexion with India. For those who are romantically inclined they have given it added romance; they have defended and policed it; and, as cogs in the machinery of public service and utility, they have shared in the exploitation and development of the country.

In other spheres of activity, too, they have a creditable record. In spite of circumstances many have not only acquired fortunes, but have shared the fruits of their enterprise. They still remember the successes and benefactions of James Kyd (after whom the docks at Kidderpore, Calcutta, are named), master shipbuilder and author of a pamphlet (1820) entitled *Thoughts on How to Better the Condition of Indo-Britons*; of Lawrence de Souza and Joseph Baretto, merchant princes and philanthropists; of the Palmers, friends of the Marquess of Hastings, of the firm of William Palmer and Company, which was wealthy enough to lend the Nizam of Hyderabad a million pounds—at admittedly usurious interest; of R. Hollingberry, financial expert and philanthropist; of Sir George Kellner, who received the K.C.M.G. for his administrative services to the Military Department of the Government of India; and of Captain John Doveton of the Nizam's service, who donated three hundred thousand rupees to the Parental Academic Institution.

In more recent times, Sir Paul Chater provided an endowment of a million rupees for the La Martinière College, Calcutta, while R. D. Richmond, a Madras barrister and estate owner, has devoted a considerable part of his small fortune to educational benefactions. The late T. G. Cuyper, whose family has become associated with that of a titled Englishman, Charles Griffiths, a shrewd and fortunate philatelist, and Colonel F. M. Leslie of the well-known firm of Leslie and Company at Calcutta, have been similarly

involved in educational donations and other social activities. The late E. T. McCluskie combined philanthropy with the attitude of a self-made business man by promoting colonisation schemes.

Eurasian concern for education has not found its sole expression in such legacies, though every Eurasian of means has helped to create funds for educational purposes. Numerous private schools founded by Eurasians, or conducted primarily for their children, formed the background for the new educational policy which followed the counsel of Lord Macaulay, while in recent years Eurasian agitation, led by Sir Henry Gidney, has resulted in the protection and expansion of 'European Education' in the new Constitution. I do not regard this achievement with any pride, but mention it for those who might.

At the Hindu College, now known as the Presidency College, founded at Calcutta in 1816 by David Hare, liberalism and a regard for the English language were both stimulated by Henry Derozio. This youthful genius left so profound an impression on the culture of Bengal that I have included a biographical account of him in this book, as a sort of type-study of the influence of hybrid genius on social evolution. It is significant that Derozio's poetry and teaching sprang from a deep love for India, 'my own, my native land', and that no comparable personality has arisen in the century of increasing Anglo-Indianism following his death. Nor has the intense intellectual and philanthropic activity of his time ever been renewed in the community. There is a moral in this phase of Eurasian history which deserves to be learned. It proves within the Eurasian milieu what world history demonstrates: that culture springs from attachment to one's motherland and the causes of humanity, not from parasitic services to a ruling minority. And a people is judged by its cultural worth.

More famous than the Hindu College for the steady stream of distinguished men, including the great

Indian leader, Sir Surendranath Banerjea, who issued from its gates was the Parental Academic Institution (1823-1916), known since 1853 as the Doveton College. This school was founded by John William Ricketts (1791-1835), who follows Derozio on the list of eminent Eurasian patriots (Stark, 7. 4, 1934). The orphan son of Ensign John Ricketts of the Bengal Engineers, who had fallen in the siege of Seringapatam, he had been educated in the Upper Military Orphanage at Calcutta, which was founded in 1782 by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick. On leaving school he was apprenticed to one of the Company's secretarial offices, and was later transferred to clerical duty at Amboyna, where he rose to the position of Secretary to the Governor. There he was persuaded by the fervour of his friend Jabez Carey, younger son of the renowned Baptist missionary, Dr. William Carey, to resign his position and join the mission at Serampore. This he did in 1816 but, after a short period of evangelical service at Murshidabad, was compelled by ill-health to return to Calcutta, where he again found official employment, eventually rising to the post of Deputy Registrar, Board of Revenue.

Ricketts had neither the genius nor the critical outlook and culture of Derozio, but he commanded respect and affection through his courage, honesty and pleasing manner. His sincere love of his people was shown in many measures for Eurasian amelioration with which he was intimately associated, including the Calcutta Apprenticing Society, which helped to place youths in industry and trade; the Calcutta Commercial and Patriotic Association, which endeavoured to stimulate Eurasian effort 'in the wide field of agriculture, trade and general commerce'; a marine school on *The Princess Charlotte of Wales* for training Eurasians for service in the mercantile marine; the East India Club, founded by G. S. Dick, which Europeans felt should be suppressed; and many colonisation schemes and charitable and religious

enterprises. He also helped to secure the jury rights of Eurasians, and defended the liberty of the Press when repressive regulations were applied during Mr. John Adams's brief spell of power as acting Governor General.

These services earned for Ricketts the honour of carrying the first Eurasian petition to Parliament (1830) which, in spite of the difficulties it encountered, may have influenced the clauses terminating statutory discrimination in the renewed Charter given to the Company in 1833. It has also been the historical inspiration of recent deputations sent to England by the community, notably those led by H. A. Stark in 1923 and Henry Gidney in 1925.

§

Apart from their educational and commercial activities, Eurasians have distinguished themselves mostly in medicine and law. The Indian Medical Department, which consists almost entirely of Eurasians, supports the Indian Medical Service as the most important unit of the military medical and public health services. Many have attained distinction in this junior service, in spite of the lack of opportunities, a conspicuous example being provided by Colonel A. E. Baptist, M.B.E., who has played an outstanding part in the success of the School of Tropical Medicine and the All India Institute for Hygiene and Public Health.

In the Indian Medical Service itself, many prominent officers, including one of the best-known Director Generals, have been Eurasians or have had Eurasian relatives, but they have more or less successfully denied their mixed inheritance. Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, the present leader of the community, belongs to this service. His skill as an ophthalmic surgeon gave him the beginnings of an international reputation, but he obscured it by a blend of patriotism and political

ambition which has made him fight his way to the front rank of Indian politics. A typical *bon vivant* and entertaining host, a man of culture and an excellent sportsman in his time, his elegance and urbane manner have earned for him the reputation of being 'the glass of fashion and the mould of form' in the Indian Legislative Assembly, with which he has been connected since its inception.

Possessed of a prodigious capacity for hard work and much accomplishment in the arts of oratory and diplomacy, he has served with distinction on every investigation in recent years of the future of the Empire, and has survived personal misfortunes and the disgraceful attacks of venomous aspirants to the throne he occupies in Anglo-India. It is difficult not to eulogise this son of a railwayman, even if it is easy to be impatient with his selfishness and vanity, his opportunism and theatrical effects, and his inability to direct his people towards a critical appreciation of social values and their future in a changing motherland. One of Britain's best police dogs in India, he deserves a peerage. He would make a charming peer.

It is of interest to add that Gidney's most noteworthy predecessors, such as E. W. Chambers and J. R. Wallace, have also been successful members of the medical profession. Law, too, has contributed to Eurasian leadership. G. H. Campagnac, leader of the Burmese Eurasians, is a popular barrister at Rangoon, while E. H. M. Bower, a member of the Madras Legislative Council who has also seen service in the Assembly, and H. Cecil Desanges of the Allahabad Legislative Council, enjoy similar positions in their respective provinces. In Calcutta, Louis Maguire, a lawyer of neglected promise, maintains his position as a somewhat refractory lieutenant of the community's Colonel.

In the arts, Eurasians of some accomplishment have not been lacking. The reputation of Madame Alice Gomes, 'The Eurasian Patti', is still remembered

in musical circles. Charles Pote, a contemporary of Derozio and Ricketts, who shared their political struggles (and painted their portraits), had a feeling for colour and line which would have brought him fame as a portrait painter in any country which provides an audience for talent. In India, he is best known for his portrait of Lord Metcalfe, which hangs in the Town Hall of Calcutta.

The same lack of audience has retarded Eurasian invasion of the literary world, though in Derozio's time many achieved prominence as journalists and editors, while some who have written under English conditions have also attained success. A modern 'English' novelist, with many best-sellers to his credit, belongs in this category, while R. Palme Dutt, the Indian-Swedish Eurasian, has brought to the Labour movement a critical mind and gift for lucid expression which have made him one of its most distinguished intellectual exponents.

Among those who have acquired a local reputation in recent years are W. Madge, historian; H. W. B. Moreno, chiefly historian, publicist and writer of tolerable verse; D. G. Upson, journalist and romantic poet, whose charming sheaf of verses, *Songs of Dreams* (Ganesh, Madras, 1922), breathes the spirit of 'the glory that was Ind'; H. A. Stark, educationist and historian, whose unrivalled knowledge of Eurasian history does not find adequate and objective expression in the books he has written; H. Sutherland Stark and H. E. Roseboom, journalists; Philip Cox, the 'West Indian' author of *The Ranee of Jhansi* (Unwin, 1935) and studious works on Indian problems; K. E. Wallace, author of two thoughtful books and several papers on his community; Mercia Heynes Wood, educationist, biologist, journalist and author of an Indian best-seller on *Eugenics and Birth Control*, whose talents and wide culture await further employment in the causes of her people; and S. H. Prater, a biologist and writer who is Honorary Secretary of the

famous Bombay Natural History Society, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, and a Member of the Legislative Council of Bombay. Prater has a gift for museum organisation and technique, supplemented by extensive travel and study, which has made his museum the most instructive in the East, while as a Eurasian leader he has before him a great future.

In athletics and sport, the Eurasians have a proud record. Their boxers have defeated some of the best men in the British Army and other contestants for Indian titles; their tennis players, such as Jenny Sandison, have reached Wimbledon standards; their football, cricket and hockey elevens have held their own with the keenest local and outside competition. In hockey they lead India—and the best hockey is played in India. The hockey eleven which successfully represented India at the last Olympic Games at Los Angeles contained many Eurasians, and was managed by A. F. Hayman, O.B.E., a prominent Eurasian who is Secretary of the Indian Railway Board. The previous Olympic eleven from India, which astonished all Europe a few years ago, was also managed by a Eurasian, A. B. Rosser, an outstanding personality in Indian sport for three decades. It was captained by a Eurasian and included nine Eurasian players.

These facts, combined with their military history and aptitude for work requiring physical endurance, should form an effective answer to those who believe that Eurasians are physically degenerate. Moreover, the testimony of achievement is supported by anthropometric studies, which show that Eurasians, like other mixed breeds, are taller than the maternal stocks and similar in stature and physique to the paternal groups (Mahalanobis, 6. 2, 1922). And their physique (Dover, 7. 4) is definitely improving.

§

Reverting to the economic history of the community, the phase of legally enacted repression ceased with the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833. It allowed the acquisition of land, and provided that 'no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.'

The principle of equity was again emphasised in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, when the Empire which Clive had dishonestly founded on the intrigues and skirmishes of trading opportunists became a definite reality. Her Majesty, who shared with Disraeli the deprecation of 'the unchristian spirit' towards India, graciously declared, among other things, that 'so far as may be, Our subjects of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in Our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge.'

But, like the Jeffersonian creed in America, this expression of Lord Beaconsfield's statesmanship failed to function in practice. Years of active discrimination, supplemented by the catastrophic failure, involving more than fifteen million pounds, of the principal banking firms that followed the collapse of Palmer and Company in 1824, prevented Eurasians from taking advantage of the new opportunity, if so it could be called. The superior services were filled by recruitment in England, and few could afford the cost. Those that could soon found themselves victims of preferential treatment and social ostracism, for the technical acceptance of equalitarian principles has never flowered into social custom under British rule.

Indeed, the very declarations which ostensibly dammed the rising tide of proscription created fresh

undercurrents to sweep genuine liberalism away. Feminine influence, for example, had not hitherto operated in the growth of anti-Eurasian feeling, but with the renewal of the Charter, British women were allowed to proceed to India without difficulty, and two years later the opening of the so-called overland route overcame the prohibitive cost and perils of the voyage, which was made still more convenient with the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. The land of the pagoda tree became a land of wider opportunity for its white rulers.

So the British population grew rapidly and compacted itself into groups against the pressure of competition. Group prejudice, intensified and enforced by white women afraid of sexual competition, built the colour bar and successfully circumvented the theoretical principle of merited equality for all men. Unfortunately, too, it did more than that. It provoked a defensive imitativeness among the Eurasians, which alienated Indian sympathy, made them enervatingly dependent on the dominant group, and started a wasteful exodus of the albescent across the colour line.

The bridge over which these neo-whites passed was provided by the comparatively unsuccessful Europeans, a group compelled by circumstances to permanent residence in India, but with no place in the organisation of British society in the country. To-day these white untouchables are organised with the brown outcastes as the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community of India. But they maintain their electoral separateness, refer to themselves as Europeans, and fan the dying embers of the 'dam' nigger spirit'. Yet in their seed are the Eurasians of To-morrow—the dam' niggers of the Day after To-morrow.

§

The interactions of prejudice are interestingly reflected in the evolution of Eurasian attitudes towards

communal nomenclature. In the early days of the British insinuation into India, they were referred to as 'half-castes', 'mixed bloods', 'countryborns' and 'members of the mixed races', and appear to have accepted these terms without protest. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, these names definitely acquired the value of epithets rather than descriptive terms, and in 1825 the community therefore organised a meeting at Calcutta, which resolved that 'East Indian' was the 'most appropriate and applicable designation'. It was not universally used, however, the term 'Indo-Briton' being more popular as it suggested blood relationship with the ruling class.

A few years previously (1813-1823) the term 'Eurasian', attributed to the Marquess of Hastings, had been sporadically used, and in fifty years it had become so general that the Association founded by E. W. Chambers in 1876 adopted it as a communal designation. Unfortunately, it soon came to have a derogatory implication, which the Eurasians sought to elude by appropriating the label 'Anglo-Indian' from the resident Britishers who had invented it for themselves. In 1897, the Secretary of State for India was petitioned by a deputation, led by J. R. Wallace, to give official recognition to the filched cognomen, but that dignitary remained unimpressed. Undeterred, the energetic doctor founded on his return 'The Imperial Anglo-Indian Association', rhetorically declaring that 'Britishers we are and Britishers we ever must be. Once we relinquish this name (Anglo-Indian) and permit ourselves to be styled "Eurasians" or "Statutory Natives of India" we become estranged from our proud heritage as Britishers.'

The reward of these patriotic exercises was the publicly expressed sarcasm of Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, and the neglect of the euphuistic appellation outside the community itself. But Lord Hardinge authorised its use for the Indian Census of 1911, and it is now officially employed without being

universally recognised, though it is beginning to find favour in print, often with the satirical qualification 'new style'. Moreover, it has not released the Eurasians from their statutory definition as 'Natives of India', nor their occupational definition as 'European British Subjects'. The political subtlety of these terminological anomalies exposes 'Anglo-Indians' to utilisation according to official convenience. As natives they are excluded from certain British privileges, while as European British subjects they enlarge the British electoral and military strength, and are prevented from orienting themselves to complete acceptance of their statutory position.

The transparent diplomacy of this situation has recently been emphasised further by giving Eurasians of direct European paternity the definite status of European voters, leaving those whose European paternal connexions are more remote to vote as 'Anglo-Indian Natives of India', while those who derive their white ancestry from the maternal side are regarded as natives without qualification. The members of many Eurasian families therefore share with some of their West Indian allies the curious privilege of being able to exercise their vote in different constituencies.

So serious are the consequences of the psychology and disadvantages implicit in the use of the term 'Anglo-Indian' that it is comforting to recall that Eurasian critics of contemporary Anglophily have not been lacking. More than fifty years ago an anonymous critic (quoted by Dover, 7. 4, 1929) pointed out that over a hundred pounds had been wasted in assuring the Queen of the Eurasian Association's loyalty. Greatly daring, he added that Her Majesty knew, as well as Eurasians knew themselves, that 'we dare not be disloyal'. And with changing conditions in the East, this spirit of independence has shown some signs of revival, a recent attempt by the younger generation of Eurasians to renew the more logical designation meeting with an encouraging response. In Burma,

the Eurasians protested to the Simon Commission against being regarded as 'Anglo-Indians', and defined as a member of their community 'any person of mixed European and Indian or Burmese descent, whether of legitimate parentage or not, or whether the European strain be derived from the paternal or the maternal side.'

This definition must be regarded as a forward step, though it is not as comprehensive as it should be, and the alternative designation 'Anglo-Burman' is as inept as any attempt to inject the 'Anglo' into the names of mixed communities in the East. While they remain comparatively free from recent African elements, usage, logic and a sense of cohesion dictate the general use of the word 'Eurasian' as the only appropriate designation for communities of very diverse Eur-Asiatic origins, with such geographical variations as 'Eurindians' when convenience demands. Stoutly optimistic, I therefore continue to hope that the folly and degenerating temper of its petty Anglicism will seep increasingly into the Eurasian mind.

§

This glimpse of the external and internal conflicts and influences to which Eurasians are exposed might explain their position to-day. Condemned to an urban life of dependence upon the crumbs that fall from the paternal table, devoid of agricultural or industrial traditions, conditioned in a degrading atmosphere of prejudice, priestcraft and low cultural opportunity, they sail a perilous craft in the stormy seas of modern India. Indeed, many sail no more. For, according to Sir Henry Gidney (7. 4), a third of the employable men of the community are unemployed, thousands more are in acute distress, and the majority barely subsist above what would be called in Europe 'the poverty line' (Wallace *et al.*, 7. 4).

And such a situation cannot be radically improved by temporary palliatives, by an abiding faith in the

dispensations of God and the Government. Perhaps it is necessary to ask, as Eurasian leaders have done, for a short period of preferential treatment and legislative protection, in which to reorient themselves to the consequences of the new Constitution. But this privilege is fraught with grave danger, and the necessary adaptations can never be made in the Anglo-Indian spirit. Protection, combined with higher and vocational education and feeble co-operative movements and colonisation schemes, may water the branches but leave the drought and the rot at the roots.

For, in the twilight of imperialism and capitalism, the good Anglo-Indians are clearly doomed. Already they have looked too long and uncritically at 'the weary Titan' they regard as their fatherland, too little at themselves, not at all at the glorious past and potential future of their own and only country. They need a Lowell to rouse them as the Americans of his day were roused, to tell them that

'Though you ought to be free as the wind and the waves,
You've the gait and the manners of runaway slaves ; . . .
You steal Englishmen's books and think Englishmen's thought,
With their salt on her tail your wild eagle is caught ; . . .
The cast clothes of Europe your statesmanship tries
And mumbles again the old blarney and lies ;
Forget Europe wholly, your veins throb with blood,
To which the dull current in hers is but mud ; . . .
By the scale of a hemisphere shape your designs, . . .
Keep your ears open wide to the Future's first call,
Be whatever you will, but yourselves first of all.'

Fortunately, it seems that the community may get its Lowell. For there are encouraging signs of a new Eurasian poetry led by George Walker and other youthful writers, a vigorous poetry breathing the rational spirit of Derozio, a poetry which dares to tell Eurasians, as Walker does, to

'Forget the West, the ash and oak,
And view the neem and tamarind,
You bastard breed.'

And when they are themselves first of all, when they view the neem and tamarind, when they share the burdens and aspirations of their native kinsfolk, the coolies of a declining Empire will be among the leaders of a new nation in a growing comity of Asiatic and oppressed peoples.

Let them know what they are and they will know what they may be.

Derozio found a friend who 'rocked the cradle of his genius and followed his hearse to the grave.'

When Derozio recited this prologue he was only fourteen, but circumstances had already compelled him to leave school. For two years he clerked in Calcutta, when an uncle, who was an indigo planter at Bhagulpore, provided the opportunity for more congenial employment. Stimulated by the rural beauty of Bhagulpore, he contributed occasional pieces to *The India Gazette* under the modest pseudonym *Juvenis*. It was there, too, that he conceived his most ambitious effort, *The Fakeer of Jungheera*, and felt the poignancy of his first and only love. His verse is redolent of the episode: sometimes dejected, sometimes recalling visions of past happiness—

' Still faithful Memory will fling back her beams
And bring to light those wild, unearthly dreams
Which were, in mercy, to my spirit given
When thou didst teach me all I know of heaven !'

§

At eighteen, Derozio decided to forsake indigo for a literary career. He returned to Calcutta fortified by his 'period of withdrawal' and preparation, and sought Dr. Grant's advice on the publication of his verses in book form. Dr. Grant was not encouraging: the publication of a book, he said, was a matter for mature consideration. Derozio should wait.

But for once Dr. Grant's advice was not heeded. And the immediate success which followed the printing of the volume proved that for once Dr. Grant had been wrong. A second volume, *The Fakeer of Jungheera, a Metrical Tale, and Other Poems*, succeeded it early in 1828. The reception accorded to these volumes is indicated by reviews in *The New Monthly Magazine* (March, 1828) and *The Oriental Herald* (July, 1829). The former remarked that 'the thoughts

and topics are not unusual, but they are expressed and treated of with 'grace, elegance and spirit. The language is elevated and poetical ; and the versification is flowing, polished and various.' The latter felt that the volumes contained 'much that, under any circumstances, would have been interesting', but which, considering Derozio's youth and disabilities, was 'really extraordinary'.

Hardly had the *Fakeer* appeared when its author, who was working with Dr. Grant as Assistant Editor of the *Gazette*, was appointed to a lectureship in English History and Literature at the Hindu College. He was not yet nineteen when he entered upon his new duties, but he exercised an influence that remains unrivalled. He shook the Hindu religion to its foundations, and was the real mover of the theistic schism which exists to-day as the Brahmo Samaj movement of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, his friend and contemporary.

Alexander Duff's missionary efforts were also indebted to the foundations laid by Derozio. Duff himself admits that when he first arrived in Calcutta he 'came in contact with a rising body of natives who had learned to think and discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom', but George Smith, Duff's ponderous biographer, dismisses Derozio as 'a Eurasian of some genius and much conceit'. We can understand Dr. Smith's attitude. He wanted his idol (whose lectures, a contemporary tells us, 'intended for the Hindus are now attended by them very rarely') to strut the stage as the first reformer of modern times in India, and Derozio and his associates were impediments in the way of this devout ambition.

So Dr. Smith accused Derozio, too, of atheism and immorality, because he had instigated a great wave of freethinking among his pupils and Indian friends. Many of them preferred to recite passages from the *Iliad* instead of their daily invocations, and some even refused to be invested with the sacred Brahminical

thread. His influence is described as follows by an Indian contemporary, Hurru Mohun Chatterjee: 'The students in their turn loved him most tenderly; and were ever ready to be guided by his counsels and imitate him in all their daily actions in life. In fact, Mr. Derozio acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of his pupils that they would not move even in their private concerns without his counsel and advice. On the other hand, he fostered their taste in literature, taught the evil effects of idolatry and superstition; and so far formed their moral conceptions and feelings as to make them completely above the antiquated ideas and aspirations of the age. Such was the force of his instruction that the conduct of the students out of the college was most exemplary, and gained them the applause of the outside world, not only in a literary and scientific point of view, but what was of still greater importance, they were all considered men of truth. Indeed, the (Hindu) "College boy" was a synonym for truth.'

§

The reward for so moulding the ways of his pupils was Derozio's dismissal, early in 1831, from the College. The management was alarmed, for their students were ignoring some of the most fundamental precepts of orthodox Hinduism without succumbing to the seduction of Christian evangelists. Some were even progressing, as an early biographer of Derozio remarks, by cutting their way through ham and beef and wading to liberalism through tumblers of beer.

Evidently the time had come for action. It came first in the form of an edict, described by Dr. Grant as an 'abortion of intolerance', forbidding the teachers from having private intercourse with their pupils, and the pupils from 'attending societies at which political and religious discussions are held', at the risk of incurring 'the serious displeasure' of the management.

Two months later it was proposed that 'Mr. Derozio, being the root of all the evils and cause of public alarm, should be discharged from the College, and all communications between him and the pupils cut off.' The motion was contested by David Hare, H. H. Wilson and others, but it was eventually agreed that it would be expedient to dismiss Derozio to placate prevailing sentiment. This decision was conveyed to him by Dr. Wilson, who suggested that Derozio should resign, tactfully adding that when the alarm died down he could return to his appointment. It is characteristic of the youthful apostate that, while thanking Dr. Wilson for the suggestion, which he 'perceived to be the dictate of a generous heart anxious to soothe what it could not heal', he declined to 'make that appear a merit which is really a necessity.'

Replying in continued friendliness, Dr. Wilson sought to excuse 'the intemperate spirit' of the management on the basis of 'the expediency of yielding to popular clamour'. He also stated some of the rumoured charges against Derozio, which were that he did not believe in God and parental respect, that he saw no objection to marriage between brothers and sisters, and that he had maintained these views in the presence of his pupils. Derozio's reply indicates a radical outlook that can only be regarded as remarkable in a young man of twenty-two, who lived, in a backward country, in an age when Darwin was still struggling with Paley's *Evidences* at Cambridge. Referring to theism, is it consistent, he asks, 'with an enlightened notion of truth to wed ourselves to only one view of so important a subject, resolving to close our eyes and ears against all impressions that oppose themselves to it?'

Continuing, he writes: 'Entrusted as I was for some time with the education of youth peculiarly circumstanced, was it for me to have made them pert and ignorant dogmatists, by permitting them to know

what could be said only upon one side of grave questions? Setting aside the narrowness of mind which such a course would have evinced, it would have been injurious to the mental energies and acquirements of the young men themselves. And (whatever may be said to the contrary), I can vindicate my procedure by quoting no less orthodox authority than Lord Bacon. "If a man", says this philosopher (and no one has a better right to pronounce an opinion upon such matters than Lord Bacon), "will begin with certainties he shall end in doubt." This, I need scarcely observe, is always the case with contented ignorance when it is roused too late to thought. . . . If the religious opinions of the students have become unhinged in consequence of the course I have pursued, the fault is not mine. To produce convictions was not within my power; and if I am to be condemned for the Atheism of some, let me receive credit for the Theism of others. Believe me, my dear Sir, I am too thoroughly imbued with a deep sense of human ignorance, and of the perpetual vicissitudes of opinion, to speak with confidence even of the most important matters. Doubt and uncertainty besiege us too closely to admit the boldness of dogmatism to enter an enquiring mind; and far be it from me to say "this is" and "that is not", when after the most extensive acquaintance with the researches of science, and after the most daring flight of genius, we must confess with sorrow and disappointment that humility becomes the highest wisdom, for the highest wisdom assures man of his ignorance.'

Indignantly refuting the accusation of inculcating parental disrespect, he quotes instances to prove that he has 'always endeavoured to cherish the sentimental feelings of the heart, and to direct them into proper channels', though he condemns 'that feigned respect which some children evince, as being hypocritical and injurious to the moral character'. The third charge he dismisses as 'ridiculous', remarking that 'it is a

satisfaction to reflect that scandal, though often noisy, is not everlasting.' And in concluding he enquires pertinently 'whether the expediency of yielding to popular clamour can be offered in justification of the measures adopted by the Managers of the College towards me?' He believes that there was a determination on their part to get rid of him, 'not to satisfy popular clamour, but their own bigotry', but feels that 'to complain of their injustice would be paying them a greater compliment than they deserve.'

§

With the conclusion of his career as a pedagogue, Derozio turned more seriously to journalism. He was well sponsored, for he counted the notables of the city among his supporters. Among his Eurasian friends were some of the greatest men that community has produced, such men as Lawrence de Souza ; William Kirkpatrick, brother of the famous Kitty, a fellow journalist ; Wale Byrne and Henry Andrews, educationists ; Charles Pote, R. Hollingberry, James Kyd and J. W. Ricketts.

Prominent among his English friends, apart from Grant, Hare and Drummond, were Dr. H. H. Wilson, a surgeon, accomplished also in music and acting, who became the greatest British Orientalist after Colebrooke and the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford ; Sir Edward Ryan, a famous lawyer, who interested himself conspicuously in education both in India and in England ; the Rev. Dr. Mill, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar and first Principal of the now defunct Bishop's College ; Captain D. L. Richardson, Editor of *The Calcutta Literary Gazette* and a poet and writer of considerable merit ; Miss Emma Roberts, the gifted authoress of *Oriental Scenes with Other Poems* ; and Henry Meredith Parker, a man of great culture, whose poetic genius is evident in his *Draught of Immortality*. No dinner party of Parker's, it was said,

was complete without Derozio, who added a gift for brilliant conversation to his youthful eagerness and charm.

His Indian friends were innumerable. They included Raja Ram Mohun Roy, founder of the Brahmo Samaj; the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, an early reformer who admitted that, though he was baptised by Duff, he was really converted by Derozio; Mohesh Chunder Ghosh, Duff's first convert, who has also stated that he was influenced more by Derozio than by Duff; Ram Gopal Ghosh, a wealthy public man, who was one of the founders of the British Indian Association; Gobin Chunder Bysack, a splendid writer and speaker; Russic Krishna Mullick, who was persecuted for his religious views to the extent of being drugged and placed in irons; Amrita Lal Mitra, member of a distinguished Bengalee family; Hurun Chunder Ghosh, a judge of the Calcutta High Court; Radhanath Sickdar, a mathematician and freethinker with a somewhat satirical faith in beef as a factor in national development; Ramtonoo Lahiri, a philanthropist, whose relatives still own one of the largest printing concerns in the country; Duckinarunjan Mookerjee, who was persecuted in the same way as R. K. Mullick, but completed an eventful and romantic life as a Raja; and Piari Chand Mittra, the biographer of David Hare, whose stories have earned for him the reputation of being the Dickens of Bengal.

Such were the friends of this 'immoral' Eurasian of 'much conceit'. How deeply they felt for him they have testified themselves; how deeply he must have responded to their affection is indicated by his sonnet to the pupils of the Hindu College. One of his most feeling pieces, it is worth quoting in full:

'Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers

That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours)
 Their wings to try their strength. O ! how the winds
 Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
 Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
 Of new perceptions shed their influence ;
 And how you worship truth's omnipotence !
 What joyance rains upon me, when I see
 Fame in the mirror of futurity,
 Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain,
 And then I feel I have not lived in vain.'

§

Fortified by his associations, Derozio organised and edited *The East Indian*, the first and last Eurindian newspaper (except for *The Bangalore Mail*, edited in 1933 by H. E. Roseboom), which advocated 'the claims of every question, honest and true and liberal, with an eloquence and ability and a power of judgment of which East Indians may well be proud.' Unfortunately, no copies of it exist to-day.

Previous to this venture, while still in the Hindu College, he had launched *The Hesperus*, an evening paper, and had edited *The Calcutta Magazine* which, combined with his experience on *The India Gazette*, had given him a practical knowledge of journalism that was second to none in the Calcutta of his day. He was also a constant contributor to other journals, such as *The Calcutta Literary Gazette*, *The Indian Magazine*, *The Bengal Annual*, *The Orient Pearl* (which was conducted by Eurasians), *The Enquirer* (edited by Krishna Mohun Banerjea), *The Kaleidoscope* (a literary venture of Kirkpatrick's), and *The Bengal Hurkaru*. Most of these contributions were poems, and I have been unable to discover any sample of his prose in such of these journals, and others of his time, that are available in Calcutta. But a more determined search by local students may be productive and certainly worth the trouble.

The East Indian grew rapidly in power. And it gave

Derozio a position which naturally involved him in the political struggles of his time. By 1829, communal grievances had become so intolerable that Ricketts was deputed to carry a Petition to Parliament, which was not as successful as its signatories had anticipated. It was narrowly worded, and did not appeal to the radically minded Derozio, who strongly opposed its despatch. But he associated himself generously with the celebrations which marked the return of Ricketts early in 1831.

At a meeting held in the Town Hall of Calcutta on March 28th of that year, he moved that Ricketts should be suitably honoured. 'If any man', he said, 'is entitled to the gratitude of the East Indian Community, that man is John William Ricketts. Had he been entitled to it upon no other ground than because the Parental Academic Institution owes its origin to him, such gratitude had been well deserved.'

And, in explaining the reasons for his 'persevering opposition to the proceedings of Mr. Ricketts', he stirred his audience with a fine burst of spontaneous oratory, of which the following fragment is a sample: 'Why then am I here this day? Why have I offered myself to your notice? I have already answered that question. I have said that I am called here by duty; and that is a voice I dare not disobey. I am an East Indian, and therefore I ought to be here. I am interested in the welfare of my countrymen, and therefore I ought to be here. I am anxious to know what measures have been adopted to promote that welfare, and therefore I ought to be here. I love my country, and therefore I ought to be here. I love justice, and therefore I ought to be here. Shall it be said of me that I was the man who, having committed an error, was afraid or ashamed to acknowledge it?'

At the same meeting, Pote moved that a second Petition, which was drawn up but never presented, should be sent to the new Parliament. Seconding this proposal, Derozio spoke again: 'What have we

hitherto done?' he asked. 'What have we yet obtained? Have our rights been restored, our claims conceded? No, Sir, we have but just taken the field. And now shall we rest upon our arms? The spirit of exclusion has only been startled upon his throne. But there sits the demon still, mocking our efforts, and grinning over his triumph. Our hearts must not falter, our nerves must not slacken. Let us not trust our cause to men, who have nothing for us but empty professions. . . . Do you suppose that any member of the Legislature, touched by so much tenderness, will address either House of Parliament in some such way as this?—"Gentlemen, here am I, overflowing with the milk of human kindness, anxious to restore to that long-neglected and unjustly treated race, the East Indians, those rights *which they do not demand themselves*."

'No, Sir, such will never be the language of legislators. The benevolence of statesmen seldom incommodes them to such an alarming degree. And the very facts which Mr. Ricketts's Report communicates to us, should lead us to distrust noble Lords and Honourable gentlemen. What are those facts? Lord Ashley felt for us! We thank his Lordship. He promised to present our Petition. That was generous. But, when the time came for his Lordship's hand to follow up the benevolent suggestions of his heart, that hand became suddenly paralysed. Weighty matters of State pressed upon his mind, and the Petition was left to make its own way into the House of Commons. I am apprehensive (though I only suggest the possibility) that matters of State may be as burdensome to our other sympathising friends in Parliament, that such paralytic attacks, as we see do sometimes affect Lord Ashley, may be common to others who are deeply interested in our welfare. To protect ourselves against such mischances, it would not, perhaps, be the most unwise course to petition the Legislature again.

to describe him, as certain uninformed critics do, as an imitation Romantic, though much of his verse is imitative and ornamental, for we can also find in it the pure gold of utterance. He was not a great poet, but a good poet. And, as Sir Alfred Watson said at a Derozio Dinner in Calcutta, how many of the youthful works of our great poets can stand the test of scrutiny? Even Keats lived to twenty-five.

The Fakeer of Jungheera, with its vivid imagery, its dramatic touches, its gems of poetic metaphor, and *The Enchantress of the Cave*, with its robustness and fidelity of detail, were earnest of Derozio's potential ability. But it is in his sonnets that he is at his best. Here we can enjoy with him the simple beauties of nature, and appreciate the vigour, the vision and the patriotism which permeated his life and work. 'Harp of my country', he cries, 'let me strike the strain'—and he pours forth song. Such song as this :

‘ Oh, Freedom ! there is something dear
E'en in thy very name,
That lights the altar of the soul
With everlasting flame.
Success attend the patriot sword,
That is unsheathed for thee !
And glory to the breast that bleeds,
Bleeds nobly to be free !
Blest be the generous hand that breaks
The chain a tyrant gave,
And feeling for degraded man
Gives freedom to the slave.’

Or this :

‘ My country ! in thy day of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,
And worshipped as a deity thou wast.
Where is that glory, where that reverence now ?
Thy eagle pinion is chained down at last,
And grovelling in the lowly dust art thou :
Thy minstrel hath no wreath to weave for thee
Save the sad story of thy misery !

Well—let me dive into the depths of time,
 And bring from out the ages that have rolled
 A few small fragments of those wrecks sublime,
 Which human eye may never more behold ;
 And let the guerdon of my labour be
 My fallen country ! one kind wish from thee !’

And if he was melancholy, it was the melancholy that impels action. He was too vigorous, too philosophical, to be actually depressing. He knew that

‘ . . . Man’s energies can make
 An atmosphere around him, and so take
 Good out of evil, like the yellow bee
 That sucks from flowers malignant, a sweet treasure—
 O tyrant fate ! Thus shall I vanquish thee,
 For out of suffering shall I gather pleasure.’

So the note of hope rings through much of his verse, as in these lines :

‘ Your hand is on the helm—guide on, young men,
 The bark that’s freighted with your country’s doom.
 Your glories are but budding ; they shall bloom
 Like fabled amaranths Elysian, when
 The shore is won, even now within your ken,
 And when your touch shall dissipate the gloom
 That long has made your country but a tomb,
 Or worse than tomb, the priest’s, the tyrant’s den.
 Guide on, young men ; your course is well begun ;
 Hearts that are tuned to holiest harmony
 With all that e’en in thought is good, must be
 Best formed for deeds like those which shall be done
 By you hereafter till your guerdon’s won
 And that which now is hope becomes reality.’

And there is hope become reality in this enthusiastic fragment :

‘ Towards yon grey isle the waters flow,
 Then, brothers, brothers, bravely row.
 The rising gale hath filled our sail,
 It bends our slender mast ;
 And now the word is, like a bird
 We’ll reach our home at last. . . .
 And see ! our isle of rock is won—
 Now, brothers, brothers, bravely done.’

Finally, there is this bright and poetic vision of the future in which he sees

‘ . . . through mists of coming years
A rising spirit speaking peace to man.
The storm is passing, and the Rainbow’s span
Stretcheth from North to South ; the ebon car
Of darkness rolls away ; the breezes fan
The infant dawn, and morning’s herald star
Comes trembling into day. O ! can the Sun be far ? ’

§

But for him there was no day. The prophecy of the *Sunyasi*, who is reputed to have said that Derozio would not live for more years than there were letters (twenty-three) in his name, was fulfilled. He died of cholera on December 26th, 1831, surrounded to the last by his many friends. Dr. Grant was there, reading to the dying boy the second book of Campbell’s *Pleasures of Hope*, helping him to complete the journey with that same fearlessness, that same humility, that same sense of the oneness of matter, which had characterised his life and found partial expression in these lines, platitudinous and Lucretian though they are :

‘ Man is a noble work, the wise man says,
And so say I ; but Julian stooped, and took
Some dust up in his hand, and bade me look
Upon it well, and then he cried : “ See, this is man ! ” ’

So his work lives, even if it lives neglected, after him. Indeed, had he written nothing his character would still live as a wonderful example for his countrymen to follow, for all mixed breeds to contemplate. Of him Dr. Grant wrote that ‘ his faults were few and obvious. . . . His virtues were manifold, solid and endearing. He was an ardent lover of his kind, and in his dealings with all men was open, straightforward and candid. He was in disposition docile, cheerful

and affectionate, and sought independence by the only path in which it can hope to be attained, that of laborious application and unwearying industry.'

And his sorrowing schoolmaster, David Drummond, felt that he left behind him 'a fragrance in the hearts of all who knew him, which will remain pleasant and sweet when the scribbler who would tarnish his memory shall be hidden in neglected forgetfulness.' He was 'the pride of his countrymen and the darling of all who knew him.' He did, according to his most careful biographer, 'more to arouse, quicken and impel the thought of young India, than any man then living or since dead; he won the esteem and high loving reverence of his pupils, and exercised an influence over them on the side of duty, truth and virtue which has never since been equalled.'

But, apart from the uncritical adulation of a small band of enthusiasts, he has been largely denied the tributes of posterity. He lies in a humble grave in the historic cemetery at Park Street, Calcutta, denied his own conception of a poet's resting-place :

' Besides the ocean's foamy surge
On an untrodden solitary shore,
Where the wind sings an everlasting dirge,
And the wild wave in its tremendous roar
Sweeps o'er the sod ! There let his ashes lie
Cold and unmourned ; save when the sea-mew's cry
Is wafted on the gale as if 'twere given
For him whose hand is cold, whose lyre is riven !
There all in silence let him sleep his sleep ! '

NOTE.—The framework of this chapter, which was published in *The Poetry Review*, was built at Calcutta in 1929, with Edwards's *Henry Derozio, The Eurasian Poet, Teacher and Journalist* (Calcutta, 1884), Madge and Shah's *Works of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio* (Calcutta, 1907), and many periodical and biographical writings, as bricks. An extensive bibliography was prepared which has unfortunately been lost, and I am not now in a position to compile another. The reader may, however, wish to enlarge his knowledge of Derozio as a poet, since the approach of this study is sociological rather than literary, by consulting Bradley Birt's *Poems of Henry Louis Vivian*

Derozio (Oxford University Press, 1923), which contains a fair selection of the poet's work, but a somewhat unsatisfactory introduction. In this connexion, it would also be worthwhile to read such 'background' essays as Oaten's brief review of early Anglo-Indian literature in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, XIV, 1916, and the outlines of the history of journalism in India contributed by Watson and Chatterjee to Bhandarkar's symposium on India in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLV, part 2, 1929.

A bird's-eye view of other Eurasian groups and of certain Oceanic hybrids. First cousins of the Eurasians of India, they form 'the most transforming agency at work' in the regeneration of the Indo-Pacific.

8. MINIATURE MELTING POTS

‘**D**O you know what an Yewraysian is? He’s the half part of a nigger; but not the twentieth part of a man. Never you trust an Yewraysian, if you meet one. He’ll twist in your fingers like a false tool; and lucky you, if you’re not wounded. A nigger is a devil, most times. But an Yewraysian is not a proper human being.’ He is just ‘a tarnation bad mixture’.

And why are the Eurasians, as this pungent and representative critic (H. Bruce, *The Eurasian*) claims, such tarnation bad mixtures? E. B. Reuter (7. 1), basing his opinions on an obscure graduate thesis by Mary Helen Lee (7. 4), provides this compact answer: ‘Physically the Eurasians are slight and weak. They are naturally indolent and will enter into no employment requiring exertion or labour. This lack of energy is correlated with an incapacity for organisation. They will not assume burdensome responsibilities, but they make passable clerks where only routine labour is required. . . . In manhood they are wily, untrustworthy and untruthful. They are lacking in independence, and are for ever begging for special favours. . . . They recklessly resign from any and every post when, for some reason or without reason, their feelings are hurt. The girls, in some cases at least, are sold into prostitution. They are despised by the ruling whites and hated by the natives.’ C. B. Davenport (5, 1930), who also believes that they ‘show an

enfeeblement', adds that they are less useful as clerks than natives because they lazily decline to learn 'the native language'. The fact that there is no one native language and almost all Eurasians are bilingual is beside the point in such criticisms.

These quotations represent a popular conception, shared by scientists and novelists and Babbitts alike, which the previous chapters may have deprived of its seeming authority. It is as true and untruthful as most ethnic generalisations are. The history of the Eurasians of India have proved that, but it might be useful to strengthen the exposure of such comment by looking rapidly at other Eurasian and kindred hybrid groups.

Nearest to the Eurasians of India are those of Burma and Ceylon. In Burma, they form a political group, now numbering 25,000 or more, with the 'Anglo-Indians', their status and disabilities being parallel, but with the prospective separation of Burma, to which Burmese sentiment is largely opposed, they are isolating themselves from Eurindian alliances by forming a group known as the Anglo-Burman Constituency. This unwise partition, arising partly through inappreciation of the comprehensive Eurasian designation, has the approval and sanction of the Government concerned.

In Ceylon, they form a respected and efficient unit of 32,315 individuals, according to the official estimate for 1931, half of whom are found in Colombo. As a group, they have met the adverse forces created by competition and exploitation more successfully than their kinsfolk in India, evidently because of less exposure to prejudice and repressive measures under Dutch administration, which they enjoyed till 1795. They are vigorous and able, proud of their Dutch traditions, which have fortunately been continued to some extent in the social mores, support the machinery of government in the same capacities as Eurindians do, but to a lesser extent and with greater advantage

to themselves, and have produced many prominent citizens both in official and commercial spheres. The comparative favour with which they have long been regarded (W. Digby, 7. 4) still finds expression in testimonials from visiting anthropologists, and in the wide use of the euphemistic colloquial designation 'burghers'.

In British Malaya, the Eurasian community, officially known as such, numbers 16,043, according to the Census for 1931, about two-thirds of this population belonging to the Straits Settlements, chiefly Singapore and Penang, and the rest to the developing towns of the Federated Malay States. It includes the Lusitanian hybrids centred in Malacca, who trace their origin to the sponsorship of St. Francis Xavier and retain much of their Portuguese character, but is composed mostly of Euro-Malays and Euro-Chinese of more recent origin, the descendants of Eurasians from India, Ceylon and the Dutch East Indies, and 1637 recent immigrants, of whom a thousand are from India and Ceylon. Together these crossbreds form, according to C. A. Vlieland (7. 4), 'a settled endogamic section of the population with its own manners, customs and traditions, and its increase (26.9 per cent between 1921 and 1931) is essentially the "natural increase" characteristic of a separate and distinct people.'

Their cultural status is lower than that of the Eurasians of India, as they have suffered a more rigid ostracism and lack of opportunity and educational facilities. In fact, Eurasian illiteracy in the Straits Settlements rises as high as 25.5 per cent, while in India it is negligible. On the other hand, political disequilibrium and native competition, which is rapidly increasing, has not yet affected them to the point of acute unemployment and distress. They seek and secure the so-called preferred appointments, the Euro-Chinese making particularly efficient clerks, salesmen and subordinates, but many, among whom

those of Ceylonese origin are prominent, follow more independent and lucrative vocations, while some remain on the level of the *Kampong Malay*.

They take a prominent part in the sporting activities of the country, have virile Associations and Clubs, a progressive little journal known as *The Eurasian Review* (Penang), representatives in the Legislatures headed by the Hon. Dr. Noël Clarke, and a number of citizens (W. Makepeace *et al.*, 7. 4) who have distinguished themselves, chiefly as superior officials, among whom there is the familiar tendency to escape discrimination by passing as Europeans. Keenly alive to the need for communal improvement, they recognise their obvious affinity with other Eurasian groups, and received with unusual enthusiasm the suggestion that Eurasians throughout the Indo-Malayan region should form a series of federated units. But unfortunately their kinsfolk elsewhere lacked the same vision.

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Closely allied to the Eurasians of Malaya are those of Hongkong, where a growing Eurasian population is now separating as a marginal community. Twenty-five years ago, mixed breeds on the island sought alliance with, and were accepted by, the paternal groups, chiefly Chinese, British and Portuguese, a large number classing themselves as Chinese, though paternally allied to the British, to avoid prejudice and gain economic opportunity. In this way, Eurasians became the leaders of the local Chinese, and even to-day many of the most eminent Chinese in Hongkong, such as Sir Robert Ho Tung, are of mixed descent.

With the growth of the Chinese national spirit, however, and the educational progress of pure Chinese possessing the bilingual advantage of the Eurasians, it began to be felt, as C. G. Alabaster (7. 3) states, that the Eurasians 'should no longer be classed as

Chinese, or at any rate as the leaders of the Chinese community, and the exponents to the British of Chinese thought and sentiment.' And one must add to this explanation the factors for Anglophily and communal divisions that have always been created by the growth of British colonisation.

Since the War, the Eurasians of Hongkong have therefore found it politic to ally themselves more with the British, many changing their Chinese and Portuguese names to facilitate this ambition. But, on the whole, prejudice prevents social identification with the whites. So they are growing as a separate group along the lines of Eurasians elsewhere, though they still retain a closer connexion with the natives than the Eurasians of India. It is of interest to add that their Portuguese traditions find continued support in relations with the neighbouring island of Macao, where a thousand Portuguese families opened the first outpost of European trade with China. Following the Lusitanian custom, they mixed so freely with the indigènes that the majority of the Macanese population is now of Luso-Chinese origin. Like the Goans, they have lost most of the evidence of their physical affinity with the paternal stock, but proudly retain the principal elements of their Iberian culture.

Northwards, in Shanghai, the Eurasians are also relegated to a marginal status, but it is said (Park in Reuter, 3) that they are being absorbed in the very heterogeneous population of that cosmopolitan city. The Hanbury School, originally established for Eurasians, has been recently consolidated with the municipal schools for Europeans, but a Eurasian Mission and Sunday School remain, along with other signs of group organisation. The unusual beauty of many Eurasian women in this area undoubtedly favours the processes of absorption.

Elsewhere in China, as in every important port from the Aegean Sea to the Behring Straits, groups of Eurasiatics are springing up, but little is known

about them and they do not appear to create problems like the usual Eurasian communities do. Since the Revolution, the Russians, who have always mixed readily with Mongoloid peoples from their Chinese frontiers to Alaska, have been diluting Mongolian 'blood' on an unprecedented scale, both within and without the Soviets. In the Manchurian Railway Zone, for example, hordes of white Russians resident there have been compelled to accept the living standards of the Chinese, and it is estimated that the resulting relations have already produced more than 60,000 children of Sino-Russian origin. Within the Soviet Union itself, I have found it impossible to obtain information on the enormous amount of miscegenation which is proceeding there, as it is not regarded as a problem. Red Russia is not fond of creating unnecessary problems.

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In areas under French and Dutch administration in the East Indies, Eurasian communities of considerable size flourish under official encouragement and the absence of any significant colour bar. In the Netherlands Indies, however, social tolerance does not extend to alliances between Dutch women and native or Indo-European men as it does in the French colonies, where white women freely avail themselves of this broader ethnic sanction. The results of this attitude are shown in the status of the Franco-Annamites, who often rise to posts of authority, and are generally regarded, as H. Neuville's extensive survey (5) shows, as socially efficient and physically able by French officials and anthropologists who have been concerned with them. On the whole, however, they occupy the position of an intermediate group used for maintaining the machinery of local exploitation along more tolerable lines than is evident in India.

In the Dutch East Indies, too, the Eurasians form the backbone of colonial administration. They trace

their origin to the Portuguese occupation of Java early in the sixteenth century, and form a vigorous and cultured group, which has produced many successful and distinguished men, such as E. D. Dekker, a powerful and nationalistic writer, and Wilken and L. S. von Romer, the ethnologists. They resemble the Eurasians of India closely in physical and cultural characteristics (E. Rodenwaldt, 5), which is not surprising since the Javanese have a pronounced Indian heritage, but they are socially more effective. This advantage is partly due to the fact that their numerical strength (175,000–200,000 according to A. Vandenbosch, 7. 4) is more concentrated and relatively greater, but also to official encouragement, which has enabled the Indo-Europeans, as they are called, to deal more successfully with the factors that determine the deterioration of an intermediate people, particularly those concerned with the progress of native education (E. K. Embree *et al.*, 7. 4) and competition, and the growth of a resident white group.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Dutch Government realised the political consequences of allowing an established and loyal community to slide down the social scale through declining economic privilege and the absence of compensating opportunities. In India, at about the same time, the astute Lord Canning anticipated the folly, from the imperialistic viewpoint, of a similar situation. A very few years, he wrote in 1860, 'will make it (the Eurindian community), if neglected, a glaring reproach to the Government. . . . On the other hand, if cared for betimes, it will become a source of strength to British rule and of usefulness to India.'

But, whereas Lord Canning was a prophet crying in the wilderness, the Dutch went wisely beyond prophecy. They saw that many Indo-Europeans had already lost their communal identity in the *Kampongs*, on which lack of education and economic foundations had thrown them, while a further leakage was created

by successful parents sending their children to Holland, many of whom never returned. (It is said that there are now 20,000 Indo-Europeans in The Hague alone.) And in the remaining majority the signs of social decline were unmistakable. The obvious bourgeois measures for arresting the decay were to guide a part of the population into agriculture and industry, to provide poor-relief and additional official appointments for the lower classes, and to organise an institution which would rekindle hope and help to hold the social mores together. And the obvious was not neglected.

In 1848, a training school which furnished an entrance to the non-commissioned ranks of the Army was established, and a few years later it was ruled that Dutch soldiers whose term of service had expired should not be allowed to stay on in the East Indies. (In India, in 1858, the Government also attempted to add a Eurasian unit to the standing Army, but the proposal, which followed the horrors of the Mutiny and the expansion of social and commercial projects, soon petered out. And I have no doubt that Sir Henry Gidney's periodic whining for a Eurasian regiment would lead to a similar result if his supplications were granted.)

In 1886, a technical school was opened at Batavia, and soon after special provisions and credits enabled Indo-Europeans to obtain and work agricultural lands. In the 'nineties, the *Indische Bond* attempted, with the active encouragement of the Government, to co-ordinate and expand Eurasian efforts to explore new economic fields. But, and this fact is important in relation to Eurasian claims for a period of official protection, none of these measures met with the success their sponsors had anticipated. Small holdings proved a failure, as is inevitable in an urban community with no agricultural tradition; the military privileges merely eased the existence of a few of the lower classes; and the activities of the *Bond* languished through lack of support from a community that had little support to give it.

It was not until the Indo-Europeans accepted the necessity of co-operative existence that they began to adjust themselves to the changing social complex, though the previous efforts of the Government must have strengthened their struggle. This revised outlook, according to J. C. Kielstra (7. 4), came after the War, when 'The Indo-European Bond', which concerned itself only with Indo-Europeans and not the poor whites as well, arose out of the ashes of the previous organisation. Its outlook and measures were comparatively radical. It asked for and received financial support as sound investments, and not as charitable evidence of ethnic sentiment. It runs a journal and stimulates communal endeavour in every sphere. It has created the capital for establishing numerous scholarships, a large general relief fund, several schools, and an excellent agricultural colony, *De Giesting*, in South Sumatra, which is recognised and supported by the Government as an important economic venture rather than a conciliatory means of showing paternal responsibility. And, in contrast to other Eurasian Associations, its membership includes a majority of the Indo-European population.

The undeniable success of this organisation testifies to the greater than British wisdom of the Dutch Government in its policy of assisting Indo-Europeans 'to attain and maintain by their own exertions a field of their own social life'. But it has not been able to secure an undivided allegiance to Dutch imperialism. Already, writes A. Vandenbosch (7. 4), the Indo-European community is 'showing signs of an Indonesian orientation', this new nationalism, which is part of a world movement against imperialistic domination, being strengthened by economic disabilities, such as the denial of land ownership and the abolition of special salary and other official privileges, and the lack of complete cultural integration with the ruling class. This is why the 'newer genetical anthropology' is finding greater favour in the Dutch

East Indies, while meddlesome pseudo-sociologists from abroad have also begun to express their concern over the potential menace of a hybrid group to Dutch rule. Among writers of this type, H. Bleackley (7. 4) and H. de Leeuw (7. 4), a highly Americanised Dutchman whose complacent verbosity is quite remarkable, are conspicuous.

§

In the Pacific Islands, miscegenation is rightly regarded by S. H. Roberts (3) as 'one of the most transforming agencies at work', Chinese, Japanese, white and other immigrants contributing to the already mixed heritage of the Polynesian and Melanesian natives. The products of these miniature melting pots have much social affinity with the Eurasian communities, with which they also offer interesting ethnic comparisons.

Among these hybrid groups, that of the Samoan Islands offers an interesting economic parallel with the Eurasians of India. These part-Samoans, regarded by F. M. Keesing (7. 3, 1934) as 'the most significant group in the islands', have grown in a century of contact with missionary and trading endeavour to the point of forming about 6 per cent of the total population of 54,626 in 1930. They started, like the Eurindians, as resident aliens unable to hold land, because of their identification with the paternal stocks. But, with the coming of white women and the creation of a more stabilised white society, they were soon exposed to the social ostracism which results from the efforts of a privileged class to maintain its solidarity. At the same time, as in India, they were also excluded from native benefits, as the result of the official policy of 'fairness' to the Samoans. In spite of native prejudice, which Keesing rightly regards as a reflection of white opinion, the part-Samoans are therefore tending to marry back into,

or otherwise ally themselves with, the maternal stock, though the more successful still continue to live on the fringe of white society. Something like this is happening in most marginal communities.

The results of this attitude are already evident. More vigorous and plastic than the natives, the part-Samoans have furnished them with restless and vitalising elements. In the Mau demonstrations against New Zealand's administration, one of the moving spirits was the Hon. O. F. Nelson, a part-Samoan who was the wealthiest trader on the islands and a member of the Legislative Council. The rightness of might was emphasised by a battleship, and the victory was partly celebrated by the deportation of Mr. Nelson. Unrest was subdued, but it remains a dormant volcano in the body politic.

From the white viewpoint, the object lesson of this situation, supported by the fact that many other mixed groups 'have been thrown back on the native society . . . and, fusing in, have provided vitality and leadership', is aptly stressed by Dr. Keesing. He states that 'the present official policies towards the mixed population are mistaken and potent with future disturbance, that discrimination among the whites should be tempered by a closer scrutiny of the current myths regarding the individual of mixed descent, and that any encouragement of its growth among the native population is wasteful, if not dangerous.' A student of unusual vision, he adds that 'Shut off on the one hand by economic conditions inherent in the environmental situation, closed in on the other by official protective measures that exclude him (the part-Samoan) from taking part in the native benefits, breathing increasingly the unhealthy air of active discrimination and sentimental dislike or pity, he is yet seen as away in the future due to be master, since the Samoan as such will be gone.'

Nearby, in Fiji, a relatively large population of mixed breeds is growing rapidly, but is not yet

organised. Essentially urban, they are developing along industrial rather than agricultural lines. They are not independent, however, and appear to have made little contribution to local development outside their utility as cogs in the administrative machine. But they are pregnant with potentiality. Forming a small group of 771 individuals in 1881, their numerical strength has since been practically quintupled, and they are now well on the way to outnumbering the whites, the estimates for 1933 returning 3,661 part-Fijians against 4,804 whites. In the adjacent Tongan Islands Protectorate, a relatively important hybrid class is also being established. There are already as many half-castes, 397 in 1932, as Europeans on these islands, where the natives themselves number less than 29,000.

§

Northwards, in the half-million inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands, we have the largest melting pot of the Pacific. It is fed by an extensive variety of peoples, chiefly Portuguese, Spanish, British, American, Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and some Negro and Indo-Malayan immigrants, the commonest cross being the white-Hawaiian-Chinese.

The results of this human stew have not created the more difficult problems generally associated with such mixture. The factors influencing this difference must be sought in numerical abundance and local conditions, which account for the absence or control of traditions and viewpoints that condition social conflict. In the four centuries which preceded Captain Cook's appearance on their horizon, the isolated Hawaiians had acquired a stratified society, marked by self-sufficiency and some cultural stability, but they had no memory of inter-ethnic relations to prompt hostility or special codes of ethnic behaviour. Accepting others in accordance with their own sanctions and taboos, they were friendly, hospitable

and agreeable. Moreover, they produced commodities which European traders required, and were themselves able to appreciate the industrial products they were offered in exchange. The conditions were ideal for trade and concupiscence, but Mammon and Venus could only be worshipped in an atmosphere free from assumptions of white superiority. Perhaps the hardened early adventurers, long divorced from the control of their domestic mores, had none, or at any rate so few that they did not come to the surface.

Early social relations in Hawaii were therefore determined by the acceptance of ethnic equality, which the growth of mixed breeds, flourishing under social sanction, tended to maintain. In this way an equalitarian tradition was established which, in combination with certain favourable circumstances such as the prolonged survival of the Hawaiian monarchy, challenged subsequent efforts to undermine it. In the cultural disequilibrium of the nineteenth century, caused by missionary energy, large-scale immigration and changing economic conditions, native social values were fundamentally disintegrated, but in the new phase of equilibrium on which the Islanders are now entering, the old resistance to ethnic discrimination survives (R. Adams in Reuter, 3, 1934). There is opposition, of course, but on the whole the Hawaiian melting pot has not been affected, according to W. A. Du Puy (3) and others, by any significant organisation of prejudice.

A heterogeneous population has accordingly emerged, in which there are now only some twenty thousand persons claiming to be pure Hawaiians. According to L. C. Dunn (6. 2), it 'does not contain distinctly Hawaiian or Chinese or white individuals, although many reproduce the Hawaiian or Chinese or white condition of one or a number of traits. Such a group departs from its parent types not so much in racial traits, but rather by exhibiting in its physical features the potentialities for the development of a future more

uniform type, which may be more or less Hawaiian or Chinese or white, depending on combinations of circumstances which cannot at present be foretold.'

But an attempt at prophecy may not be altogether illegitimate. It is known that the numbers of white-Hawaiians and Asiatic-Hawaiians have respectively doubled and quadrupled since 1900; that Mongoloid characteristics are dominant in the early Mongol-Hawaiian crosses, the Hawaiians themselves having some Mongoloid affinity; that the Hawaiian genes contribute many dominant features to a Eur-Hawaiian cross; and that sexual selection, which follows personal preference rather than economic advantage, operates in favour of the Hawaiian type, it being said that when foreigners intermarry on the islands they invariably show a preference for Hawaiian women or women of definitely Hawaiian aspect.

In the circumstances, it may be supposed that, in the absence of profound disturbance of the present numerical ratios (as may be caused by Japanese invasion), the more uniform type of the near future will show an increasing resemblance to the original Hawaiian stock. This prospect is supported by the trends observed in other regions for the endemic stock to assimilate invading elements, provided they are not quantitatively stronger, while retaining much of the imposed cultural structure. The practical result of ethnic mixture on the islands might therefore be the creation of a more adaptable and modified, but recognisably Hawaiian, body of natives, who will integrate the local mores into a whole consistent with advancing civilisation. They may again establish Hawaiian ascendancy in Hawaii, if the Japanese, who already represent about 37 per cent of the population, will let them.

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Looking further along the sequence of ethnic relations—equilibrium, contact and disorganisation,

equilibrium—it appears probable that the Hawaiians will be increasingly subjected to dilution from Mongolian overflows. Indeed, Mongolian characteristics are already visibly impressed upon many Oceanic groups, and natural increase combined with immigration will ensure their extension.

In the Philippine Islands (N. Roosevelt, 7. 3), for example, a fifth of the population is dominantly Chinese, many of the mestizos, who comprise the intelligentsia and ruling classes, also being of part-Chinese origin. The Japanese, who have already caused ‘the most fundamental change in the Pacific population since the Polynesian migration’ (W. Price, 7. 3), have also invaded the Philippines, which they regard as a strategic point in their Oceanic ambitions.

In the Malay Peninsula, where many of the successful crossbreds are of Chinese origin, a third of the population and most of the industrial magnates are Chinese, the invasion extending inwards to North-Eastern India, where rapidly growing Chinese groups are making marked contributions to the aspect of a people previously exposed to Mongol influence from very early times. The Japanese, too, have gained a conspicuous foothold in these areas, and their numbers are steadily increasing.

The Mongol is, in fact, making an insidious ‘conquest of the world’, and that is a consequence of relative numbers and differential fertility which political barriers cannot appreciably check. China does not therefore need the organising ability of ‘a great renegade nation of the white race’ to throw her masses upon Europe ‘in a rush which may submerge her’, as F. Legendre (7. 3) states in a book written in the best post-Gobineau tradition. She is even now throwing her masses upon the white world in a biologically effective manner. And the Chinese themselves are a mongrel people who have assimilated white and Negro elements, which Dr. Legendre

regards as 'fatal', but which others associate with Chinese character and capacity.

In Japan, where the ethnic constituents are similar, a population of 'inferior half breeds' has given the world a remarkable example of material progress. And they are proud of their mongrelism, Inazo Nitobé (7. 3), one of the most eminent Japanese writers, ascribing his country's progress and aptitude for cultural assimilation to a genetic mixture which 'urges it to internationalism'. Dr. Nitobé himself married an accomplished Quaker lady, while many other distinguished Japanese have contributed to the growth of the Eurasian population of their country, as Upton Close (7. 3) shows. Yukii Ozaki, the Bernard Shaw of Japan, married an Anglo-Japanese girl of the same name as himself, who had been Marie Corelli's secretary in Italy and was herself a woman of considerable literary ability. Yoni Noguchi, the popular and much-lionised poet, married a New Yorker, and one of their gifted children is now a noted sculptor. Hideyo Noguchi, who attained a medical reputation, in spite of extreme poverty and a crippled hand, which put him among the great pioneers of modern medicine, owed much of his success to his gracious and understanding American wife. Takamine, renowned for his work on insulin and vitamins, also married a white woman.

And so the destruction of racial frontiers goes on: 'the Mongol in our midst', the Negro and the 'Aryan' in the midst of the Mongol. One is overwhelmed by the feeling that 'Nought may endure but Mutability.'

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In Australia, where more than 90 per cent of the population ignorantly claims pure British descent (H. Jose, 7. 3), black and yellow 'poisons' have circulated extensively. The majority of Australians are unmistakably branded by the signs of miscegena-

tion: the taller stature, the elongated face, the dark pigmentation, which is becoming increasingly darker.

The extent of aboriginal genes in the small Australian population of six millions is partly indicated by the progressive decrease of the blacks and the increase of the half-castes, who are thrown back on native or white society according to their colour. Some idea of the magnitude of aboriginal elimination, for which miscegenation is as responsible as extermination, is provided by the fact that the 248,500 aboriginals believed to be inhabiting the country in 1778 dwindled to 60,663 in 1928. The official figures record 15,465 aboriginal half-castes in 1927, of whom two-thirds were located in Queensland and New South Wales, but Census returns for half-castes are notoriously inaccurate. In 1933, this population had grown to 20,609.

The progress of mixture is still more clearly shown in a recent enquiry by G. Taylor and F. Jardine (6. 2). They state that in 1882 there were 6,540 'full bloods' and 2,379 half-castes in New South Wales, or about three blacks to one half-caste, but within forty years the proportions had altered to 6,270 half-castes and 1,281 'full bloods, including three-quarter castes', or about one black to six half-castes. 'It looks', these observers write, 'as if there will be no full bloods left in forty years.' It is also to be noted that the combined 'aboriginal' population of 8,919 in 1882 declined to 7,551 in 1921, which must be partly due to desertions across the colour line. In fact, R. A. F. Hoernle (in Schapera, 3) states that, contrary to general supposition, the Australians encourage marriages between half-castes and whites, the resulting families being ostensibly pure white by the third or fourth generation.

In addition to these white-aboriginal crosses, there are also a large number (6,422 in 1933) of other hybrids, mostly of part-Chinese origin (3,481 in

1933), though Asiatic immigration has been stopped for many years. These Sino-Australians are regarded, and the opinion is evidently influenced by favourable reports of other part-Chinese hybrids, as socially satisfactory (G. Taylor, 3). I have myself met some very superior and successful persons of this type in the Far East. There they tend to identify themselves mostly with the Chinese groups.

Little is known of these Australian mixed breeds, whether of aboriginal or Asiatic descent, but it seems that they exhibit the same tendencies as other hybrid peoples. They are concentrated in urban areas where the white population is greater, there being 'ten half-bloods to one full blood' in the area around Sydney, and quickly acquire the local white culture and characteristics. This assimilation is facilitated by the loss of pronounced aboriginal features in the first generation, the intermediate skin colour of that stage being rapidly whitened in future generations if fresh black infusion is prevented. It is even said, as was noted in the second chapter, that the children of aboriginal hybrids are fairer than either parent, but the dominant darkness of eyes and hair is invariably persistent (C. B. Davenport, 6. 2).

Biological factors, combined with the relatively low numbers of black indigènes and Asiatic immigrants during the period of colonisation, have therefore assisted the policy of a 'white' if brunet Australia, but local conditions and the pressure of surrounding populations suggest that isolation will eventually be broken down. In the end it is difficult, writes Jens Lyng (in Phillips and Wood, 7. 3) of the Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics, 'to visualise anything but a coloured population in tropical Australia.'

In New Zealand, the extent and influence of miscegenation is much more conspicuous. In 1926, the Census recorded 69,780 persons, in a total population of 1.4 millions, as 'having some degree of Maori blood', and added that the number of 'Maoris of

pure descent is unlikely to greatly exceed fifty per cent of the total.' Actually, it is well-known that Maoris of mixed descent, who have effected the substitution of the old specialised stock with a more adaptable growing population, form the majority of the Maori people, as studies by G. Pitt-Rivers (3), T. E. Donne (7. 3), F. M. Keesing (7. 3, 1928) and others have shown.

The figures for mixed breeds are therefore obviously inaccurate, but reveal a progressive increase in the numbers returned as such, and in the growth of Western habits among them. Thus, in 1891, 4,865 persons were returned as half-castes, of whom 2,681 were living as Maoris and 2,184 as Europeans, while in 1921 the total had grown to 7,352, of which 3,116 and 4,236 were living as Maoris and Europeans respectively. This increasing Westernisation is associated with the fact that in recent years there have been more marriages between half-castes in similar social spheres, and between whites and half-castes, than between whites and dominantly Maori women.

Culturally and physically, the Maori hybrids are now held in high esteem as examples of the desirability of nearly related crossings. And there can be no doubt that the new Maoris are an excellent people, capable of absorbing white cultural influences while retaining a proper appreciation of their own traditions, who have produced, according to J. B. Condliffe (7. 3), 'a real renaissance movement of the greatest interest and promise' in New Zealand.

Among many eminent Maoris who have contributed to the progress of the country as a whole, mention may be made of P. H. Buck, who has won international renown as a discerning student of Maori anthropology and ethnology, and of Sir James Carroll, an Irish-Maori half-caste who was at one time Prime Minister of the Dominion. 'He was a man', writes I. L. G. Sutherland (7. 3), 'of remarkably engaging personality and considerable gifts. At a critical time in the relations

between Maori and *pakeha* he was acceptable to both races and, with his tact, generous understanding and great powers of oratory, did much to bring about their political co-operation and social union. . . . He broke down the barriers between the races and but for him as forerunner the Young Maori Party could not have been so readily effective.'

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In the vicinity of New Zealand, Norfolk and Pitcairn Islands offer the most interesting example of ethnic mixture in the Pacific. The story of the white natives of Pitcairn, as they are known to visiting sailors, has often been told, the incidental accounts by R. J. Casey (7.3) and Joan Lowell (7.3) being informative for the general reader, but paling into insignificance beside the splendid volume recently produced by H. L. Shapiro (6.2, 1936).

They are essentially the descendants of nine English mutineers of the *Bounty* who, led by Fletcher Christian, took refuge on Pitcairn Island, taking with them six Polynesian men and twelve women. Turbulent and sexually aggressive, the males soon annihilated each other, and by 1800 Alexander Smith, afterwards known as John Adams, was left alone with eight women and twenty-five Anglo-Polynesian children. Overcome by remorse, encouraged perhaps by his discovery of a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, Adams set about organising his little colony to lead useful and exemplary lives, and the religious tradition which he instilled still persists, though subsequent missionary endeavour converted the Islanders to the Seventh Day Adventist Sect. Between 1823 and 1828, four more white adventurers joined the colony, one of whom, George Nobbs, became teacher, physician, pastor and leader of the community when Adams died in 1829.

Recovering rapidly from its disorderly beginnings,

it flourished in comparative contentment and order. In 1831, it moved as a body to Tahiti, but returned after a few months. In 1856, the group numbered 190 individuals, who again sought social improvement in emigration to Norfolk Island. But for many the grim conditions of Pitcairn represented all the associations of home, and two families, comprising sixteen individuals, returned within two years, followed five years later by another group of twenty-seven persons. In spite of these demographic and other vicissitudes, however, the population of Pitcairn had grown to 169 by 1921, while that of Norfolk reached a total in the same year of 698, of whom some 600 were descendants of the original Pitcairn Islanders. In 1934, H. L. Shapiro found 101 males and 98 females on Pitcairn. They are a remarkably healthy and fertile people of attractive brunet appearance, though on Pitcairn the prolonged inbreeding, which partly accounts for the whitening of the inhabitants, is said to have assisted dental degeneration and a slight susceptibility to tuberculosis.

Their high ethic standards and peacefully progressive social structure, which is superior to that of both the original stocks, have also impressed many observers. H. L. Shapiro (6. 2, 1929) expresses the tempered opinion that 'in this case the crossing of two fairly divergent groups leads to physical vigour and exuberance which equals if not surpasses either parent stock. My study of the Norfolk Islanders shows that this superiority is not an ephemeral quality which disappears after the first or second generation, but continues even after five generations. This conclusion regarding the physical vigour of the Norfolk hybrids applies also to their social structure, which on Pitcairn was not only superior to the society instituted by the Englishmen themselves, but also contained elements of successful originality and adaptability. Although the Norfolk Island society is much influenced by European contacts, it has maintained itself—a fact which acquires

increased significance in view of the deterioration of the fibre of Polynesian life as the result of European influences.' And the major reason for this satisfactory development is that at Pitcairn 'the progeny of two distinct stocks grew up without any of the degrading influences which surround the mulattoes of America and the Eurasians of India.'

Small hybrid populations have originated elsewhere in the South Seas in a similar manner. Nine Dutchmen, five of whom had Dutch wives, settled on the islet of Kizar, thirty miles north of Timor in the Malay Archipelago, and left many coloured descendants. They were discovered by the Resident of Amboyna some fifty years ago, and were recently studied through six or seven generations by E. Rodenwaldt (6. 2). He shows that they constitute a distinct group of more than three hundred individuals with definite white affinities, though living under more or less native conditions and much diluted by indigenous admixture. They appear to be physically and mentally able, and have even contributed prominent officials to Dutch administration in the East Indies.

On Cape Barren Island, midway between Victoria and Tasmania, about a hundred mixed descendants of white sealers and escaped convicts still survive (W. G. Malcolm, 6. 2). Originating in 1797, a part of the population took part in the gold rush to Australia in 1851, from which many prosperous and honoured Australian families have descended. The remaining inhabitants have married closely among themselves, and are said to retain little virility or white affinities. Tasmanian characteristics, which must have been originally dominant, are perpetuated, though the aboriginals of the mainland were exterminated a hundred years ago, but dominantly white individuals are also found. One of the original half-castes found by Dr. Malcolm in 1920 was the son of a Cardiff mariner and a Tasmanian mother. He himself held a master mariner's certificate and was a superb type of

intelligent and vigorous old manhood, such as one sometimes sees among the Sussex farmers. His descendants are said to show marked Tasmanian affinities, though one granddaughter looks like a fair European, and the photograph of another relative calls to mind the mixed Arab or Portuguese sailor types so common in Southern European ports. On the whole, the population represents an intermediate and physically competent group, which may eventually undergo further ethnic changes through contact with the Australians. Indeed, their geographical position seems to make that inevitable.

The effects of geographical position on small mixed populations are concretely illustrated in the Bonin Islands (R. Goldschmidt, 6. 2), a small group of volcanic islets to the south of Yokohama. Here Japanese immigration since 1860 has almost completely swamped the mixed colony founded a century ago by a handful of white men and Polynesian women, to whom the genetic contributions of three Negroids were added. The character of the present population is essentially Japanese, but sixty or so descendants of the pre-Nipponese mixture, among whom white and Negroid features are evident, and the continued existence of an Anglican Church and the English language, testify to the strength of the persistence of tradition and resistance to cultural invasion.

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Elsewhere in the Pacific, hybrid populations are growing on every island that has felt the winds of trade and evangelism. Many have not passed the stage of casual begettings, others have practically replaced the original native stocks. Tahiti, for example, is so thoroughly mongrelised that there is scarcely a true Polynesian left, but the mixed breeds mostly perpetuate the native traditions and social structure. The spell of Pierre Loti and Jack London, Robert

Keable and R. L. Stevenson, Rupert Brooke and Paul Gauguin, hangs so heavily over those who have written about 'The Isle of Dreams' that it is difficult to see the Tahitians through the haze of romance which surrounds them. But it seems that they are a physically appealing people, whose social status and behaviour is determined by local conditions and the easy-going mechanism of French administration.

In the Indian Ocean, the people of Réunion and Mauritius, apart from the dominating Indian group in Mauritius, are largely mixed and strongly reminiscent of the Eurasians of India. They occupy an important though subordinate position in the local economic structure, which was emphasised by the extension of sugar cultivation in Madagascar (where the aborigines themselves are of Malayo-Polynesian and Negroid origin). To secure the satisfactory working of this enlarged exploitation, the French authorities had to call in the assistance of their Réunion hybrids as overseers and other intermediate functionaries. Nearby, in the Seychelles, its 28,000 inhabitants are mostly the mongrelised descendants of Mauritian French and a handful of genetically diluted African slaves. They speak the Creole patois, maintain the Roman Catholic religion, and are officially regarded as healthy, clean and law-abiding, though somewhat improvident, citizens.

On the whole, ethnic mixture in the Indo-Pacific has therefore proved a stimulating agency, no truly dysgenic consequences being observed. E. S. C. Handy (quoted by Keesing), who has made a prolonged study of Oceanic affairs, declares that throughout Polynesia the mixed breed 'is one of the greatest assets which govern a community, both white and native phases', discrimination alienating and eliminating 'one of the most solid bonds between the white and the native'. And these comments may be regarded as widely applicable. Indeed, in so far as Oceania is concerned, many recognised authorities

such as J. M. Brown (7. 3), regard wholesale miscegenation as the basis for solving the many social and economic problems peculiar to life on the islands.

Which has the appeal, at least, of an agreeable optimism.

A peep at white and black intermixture in Africa, attention being concentrated on the Euraficans of the Cape. The Bastards of yesterday, they are now the largest marginal community outside America. Their resemblance to Eurasians is striking.

9. BASTAARDS TO EURAFRICANS

THE white man's seed has been liberally sown in Africa. There are the entangled ethnic skeins and numerous recent hybrids, offering few marginal problems, along its Mediterranean seaboard, along the Red Sea, along its North Atlantic coast and in the neighbouring islands, where the Portuguese, the Spanish and the French have lived and loved *sans distinction*.

There are the germs of a problem in the casual begettings of British, French, Italian and so many other adventurers along the East coast; in Mussolini's conquest of Abyssinia, where mulattoes of Greek, Armenian and various Southern European fathers are already numerous; in the British colonisation of Kenya, where public school totems often get chipped; in the gold-created slums of Johannesburg, even as far inwards as Elizabethville, the centre of the Katanga copper mining district of the 'mysterious' Belgian Congo.

There are the Pondoland hybrids descended from the survivors of the *Grosvenor*, which was wrecked off the South African coast in 1776, who have lost, according to P. H. Silburn (3), 'all traces of white blood', but 'still hold the traditions of their white ancestry'. There are the Goans, evidently attracted by the

nearness of Lusitanian contacts, trading and serving in thousands in Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. And as contrast there are the glittering *métis* of Mozambique, accepted by Portuguese administration and codes, dominating local society, particularly in and around Lourenço Marques.

There are the interesting Eurafrican people of the islands of St. Helena and Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic, both of which can be reached without much difficulty from Cape Town. St. Helena had a population in 1931 of 142 British residents and 3,851 natives, mostly of mixed origin. Largely isolated from civilised contacts, they live under rigorous conditions in an Anglican social environment, which provides enough primary education for the proper reception of the ministrations of a resident bishop. Their lives cannot be regarded as hygienic, but they are comparatively healthy, typically fecund, and apparently free from the 'innate evil effects' of radical miscegenation.

Tristan da Cunha is the Pitcairn of the Atlantic. It is a Crown Colony, inhabited by the descendants of a few Europeans, chiefly British, and coloured women from St. Helena and Cape Colony, who settled there at various times in the last century, beginning in 1816 with William Glass of Scotland. They number about seventy adults, and an equivalent number of children (of strikingly fair appearance), contained in thirty families with seven surnames amongst them.

Inbreeding has therefore been close, but the community is growing without signs of degeneracy, its members being unusually healthy (dental caries is practically unknown), long-lived, capable, intelligent and honest. Their virility and increase is all the more noteworthy as the population suffered from the emigration of a majority in 1857 to Cape Colony and the United States. Moreover, they have to contend with an exceptionally hostile environment under conditions of almost complete isolation, in which respect they are even more unfortunate than the

Pitcairn Islanders. But missionary effort, and with it elementary education and various forms of British Babbitttry, has also reached this forbidding outpost of Empire, which it has done its best to develop, as Mrs. Rogers (7. 5), the wife of its most active pastor, shows. Its other contacts with Western civilisation are confined to occasional mails and stores, secured through the agency of Mr. D. M. Gane, Honorary Secretary of the Tristan da Cunha Fund, and the somewhat tardy co-operation of the Colonial Office.

The social structure of these people, a state of primitive communism, is comparable to that on Pitcairn (D. M. Gane, 7. 5), where symptoms of the capitalist order are, however, more evident. They wrest a meagre living from the rocky soil, supported by their courage and ability as fishermen, and their homes and habits are strongly reminiscent of life in remote Irish villages: Aran suggests the best comparison. Yet they show little desire to seek a more comfortable existence elsewhere, nor would it be wise to encourage them to do so. For experience proves that such depopulation is a wasteful process that is eventually followed by repopulation. Men will live wherever there is a bare chance of living.

But it is in the Cape that miscegenation arouses immediate social and scientific interest. And some workers have already considered it. H. B. Fantham (6. 3) has published a series of short pedigree studies on Eurafrikan families, but they unfortunately bear the inevitable impress of the 'newer genetical school' of anthropology.

So it is not surprising that Professor Fantham's enquiries show that radical crossing induces degeneration, while 'the admixture of races at similar levels of civilisation may result in the perpetuation of highly desirable qualities.' At the same time they are, if critically read, of considerable value. They provide

data on the Mendelian phenomenon of segregation in man, and indicate that marriages within the Eurafrican group result in satisfactory social adjustment. They also show that the Eurafrican population, which has always contained a strong Asiatic infusion, is being extensively diluted by Asiatic genes and the assimilation of recent Eurasian mixtures, to which Indians and Chinese are the principal contributors.

Apart from these somewhat casual studies, which Professor Fantham has recently summarised and extended in a paper (6. 3, 1936) conspicuous for its prejudice and unsupported generalisations, there is a splendid discussion, based on a survey of literature and many pedigrees but not on measurements, by J. P. Lotsy, the renowned plant geneticist, and W. A. Goddijn (6. 3). It has no marked ethnic bias, and has the advantage of being profusely illustrated with photographs and excellent coloured plates, which emphasise the numerous observations on segregation in skin colour. Professor Lotsy concludes that 'an inbreeding syngameon leads to the formation of a definite type', which may be swamped by backcrossing with one or the other of the parent stocks. In other words, he supports the general opinion that new ethnic groups are created by hybridisation followed by inbreeding.

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Among the marginal groups tending to unite as the Eurafrican population of the Cape, there are the once nomadic Griquas, declining relics of Dutch licentiousness and Hottentot simplicity in a bygone age.

They have a fascinating and complicated history, which G. W. Stow (7. 5) and W. M. MacMillan (7. 5) have elaborated, intimately associated with the rise of the British sultanate in South Africa. Originating near the extreme south-west coast in Malmesbury District, they acquired a chieftain in the person of

Adam Kok, a thrifty ex-slave who had bought a farm at Piquetberg in the early eighteenth century. From there, provoked by Boer aggressiveness and their own voortrekking disposition, they moved inland to the area now known as Griqualand West, where they established small agricultural groups, under the leadership of the Kok family, along the banks of the Vaal.

Before 1830, however, they had split into two main communities, one under Adam Kok II occupying the country west of the river, with headquarters at Philippolis, while the other concentrated around Griquatown under Andries Waterboer. Griquatown was officially recognised in 1834, Sir Benjamin D'Urban having Waterboer, a product of local missionary effort, to dinner to conclude the treaty. Sir John Herschel also dined Waterboer and afterwards showed him the stars. The stars have always been a political asset.

In 1843, Adam Kok III also achieved a treaty with the British, but the powers it granted to him were in practice a farce, and we find him complaining that should he attempt to enforce them against Boer encroachment 'nothing but the interference of the Colonial Government could prevent a war which must end in the destruction of one or both of the contending parties.' But, in spite of his amicable outlook, Kok's territory was, by 1845, in a state of war with the Boers, who appear to have found stubborn opponents in the sturdy Griquas. Within ten years, however, Boer supremacy in the district was established, and in 1854 Kok was offered a pension of £300 a year to agree to the independence of the Orange Free State. This he refused, but the Convention was signed without his assent and the East Griquas were left to their own resources in a hostile and predatory atmosphere.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the depredation of Griqua property was completed by

1857, the hardy hybrids being left with the alternative of extinction or emigration. In 1861, therefore, they began a weary trek across the Drakensberg Mountains to an area between Basutoland and Pondoland with the grim name of Nomansland. They changed it to East Griqualand and founded a capital, Kokstad, where Kapteijn Adam Kok III, a stout little pock-marked 'Bastaard' (and proud of it), reigned in purple pomp as a constitutional ally of the Queen of England. But his people were again unable to resist white acquisitiveness, most of them now being reduced to the level of the Kaffir—worse, according to the trenchant Mrs. Millin (7. 5).

On the other side of the Vaal, a similar process of degeneration set in with the discovery of diamonds in 1867. Nicolas Waterboer claimed the area, but naturally lost his plaint. In fact, the Waterboer treaty helped to consolidate British claims in the dispute of 1871, and in 1880 Griqualand West was added to the Cape. Kimberley had to be made safe for plutocracy. It is an instructive story, this progressive decay of a people through loss of its agricultural foundations and the advance of white exploitation. To-day, they are well on the way to assimilation by the Cape Coloured.

There are pockets of 'Bastaards', too, which have been formed by Griquas who broke away from the main streams, or by large and lusty Boer rebels scattering their seed. Conspicuous among them are the self-governing Bondelswarts and Rehoboths of South West Africa, and the Buyses of the Zoutpansberg in the Northern Transvaal. The Buyses are the descendants of Coenraad du Buys, a gigantic Boer outlaw of insatiable sexual appetite, who acquired a considerable following of wives, children and children's children. Ruled in patriarchal fashion during his life-time, they have maintained the tradition of unity, and now form a fairly homogeneous group distinct from the surrounding natives.

The Rehoboths, who claimed the protection of the League of Nations a few years ago, are associated with a Griqua group formed by Barends Barends at New Platberg, near the Caledon River in the extreme south of the Peninsula. Pushed out by the whites, a large number of these families trekked in 1868, under the leadership of Hermanus van Wijk, finding their way two years later to the abandoned missionary station of Rehoboth, which had been founded in 1845 for the benefit of the Zwaartboois. There some thirty families, numbering three hundred individuals, settled.

Further augmented, the Rehoboth population is now estimated at more than 3,000 individuals, who are mainly the descendants of Dutch and Low German peasant alliances with Hottentot women in the eighteenth century. They are discussed in an early anthropological classic by Eugen Fischer (6. 3), who found them vigorous, extremely fertile and of a stature comparable to the paternal stocks. Dominantly European or Hottentot characteristics have been largely eliminated, and they constitute a separate ethnic group of variable physical intermediacy, which has maintained distinctive characteristics and cultural traditions, in spite of the surrounding native population and an original paucity of white genes.

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And lastly there are the Cape Coloured, the stewpot into which all the ethnic left-overs of the Union will eventually find their way. Dominating the picture of African miscegenation, they have effected the translation from Bastards to Eurafricans.

In 1921 (the Census for 1931 was restricted to whites), they numbered 484,252 in the Cape Colony, against a total non-mixed population, chiefly Bantu and European, of about 2.2 millions, and a total coloured population in the Union of 545,548. In

the Colony there are half as many Eurafricans as there are whites, and in Cape Town they form at least forty per cent of the total population, the rest being mainly distributed over the Western Cape Province. The Cape Coloured therefore have the distinction of being the second largest community of their kind in the world, concentrated in the smallest geographical area. They must now number the best part of three-quarters of a million, though an estimate for 1933 puts the total number of residual Eurafricans in the Union at 602,200.

And it is their quantitative pressure that evidently influenced General Hertzog's belief that the white man must at least pretend to carry the results of his glandular activity. It would not be politic to let these hybrid hordes, who meekly and respectfully accept white prestige, whose social structure is modelled on all the Babbittry and totemism of Western life, go too near the native margin. It would not be wise to let them think 'dangerous thoughts', to provoke them into feeling, as some of their spokesmen and other native thinkers felt (E. H. Brooks, 3), that all the unprivileged classes should unite in the struggle for emancipation, and that they should be 'the spear-head of non-European advance'.

Elsewhere, equally subversive ideas were afloat. In India, Mr. Gandhi and his followers had said that Eurasians were the potential leaders of the country, and many were impressed. So Colonel Gidney got a knighthood. In the more republican Cape the same gesture was not possible. So the Eurafricans got the vote. It is a restrictive and selective male vote, dependent on property and educational qualifications which do not apply to whites.

But it is a vote. It almost sets a premium on miscegenation, particularly as Asiatics of every class and degree of cultural achievement, with the significant exception of the Japanese, are relegated to the status of aboriginals. The Eurafricans hope that it will be

extended, that they will gain the franchise and equal opportunity throughout the Union, though recent trends suggest that only the whiter and more successful among them have any grounds for political optimism. Still they hope. And while they hope, while they have coppers in their pockets to-day and some see a prospect of silver to-morrow, the spear-head proposals are unlikely to appeal.

So the urban Eurafrican clings to his rulers, generally undisturbed by the impractical idealisms of social philosophy. He is politically almost a white man, whereas the Eurasian is still a 'statutory native of India'. But political concessions and General Hertzog's gestures have not weakened social discrimination, and actually he is much less of a white man than the Eurasian. His 'opportunities for social, economic and political advancement', writes W. Fitzgerald (7. 5), 'are little better than those afforded the Bantu in other provinces.' He goes to school but not to college. He speaks both Afrikaans and English, and therefore has some advantage in the preferred occupations to which his background leads him. He may make a good subordinate in official or commercial employ, a useful skilled labourer, or an excellent domestic servant, but he can seldom go further.

These opportunities and occupations are an index of his economic position, but the South African Economic and Wage Commission (7. 5) makes it still clearer. They found that the majority of coloured workers are situated in the wage group £9-£60 per annum, while many earn £60-£120 a year, and a small minority even attain an annual salary of £120-£240. That is the practical limit, a small dot in the wage diagram representing the fraction in the £240-£500 class. Among white workers, on the other hand, the minimum salary scale begins where the maximum (£120) of the vast Eurafrican majority ends, most of them being found in the £240-£500 group. And, of course, many Eurafricans are not working, and all are affected

by the growing spectre of cheaper native competition, the average native wage in the manufacturing industries being £48 per annum.

The effects of this cheap labour began to be felt before the War, when it deprived the poorer Eurafrians of their monopoly of various forms of unskilled labour in the Western Cape Province. And since the world has been made safe for democracy, the Eurafrians have been forced to face the increased cost of living without any corresponding increase in wages. It is therefore not surprising that, with the exception of their leader, Dr. Abdur Rahman, no self-professed Eurafrian seems to have attained distinction in any branch of achievement. Priest-ridden, denied adequate education, white-conditioned and repressed, they have neither had opportunity nor the background for creating it. Seldom, in fact, has a people been so relentlessly trapped between an official Scylla and a native Charybdis occasioned by the white man's lust for gold.

It is a gloomy picture of downward trends. And it becomes more gloomy when one remembers that the problem of the coloured is overshadowed by the native problem, and that the native problem is complicated by the 'race' problem, which significantly enough does not mean the conflict between white and black, but between immigrant Briton and indigenous Afrikaander (L. Barnes, 3). Moreover, capitalist South Africa does not possess the intellectual vigour for the intelligent tackling of such problems. It is still suffering acutely from the stranglehold of missionaries and Big Businessmen, it barely catches the fresh winds of new ideas. The brains of the country are the brains of peasants, nomads, exploiters; brains that are mostly incapable of visualising, of seeing problems clearly and seeing them whole, of looking beyond the petty practicalities of the passing hour and the collective worship of God and Mammon and Self. General Smuts, the philosopher of capitalism who gave the

German war debts their astronomical character, is their principal contribution to international thought.

The result is the inevitable result of economically conditioned mediocrity, selfishness and compromise. The result, as W. M. MacMillan (3) puts it, is that 'the foundations of economic life could hardly be more thoroughly unsound than in modern South Africa.' The result, as Norman Leys writes in *A Last Chance in Kenya* (quoted by G. Padmore, 7.5), is that when the historian of the future looks for the worst expressions 'of the capitalist system of society, where avarice allied with racial pride and domination showed least signs of shame, where the common people were most despised and poorest, where the law was least regarded and loyalty least possible, he will point to South Africa and Kenya.'

And it is in this atmosphere, which J. W. Gregory (3, 1925) forgot when he maligned the Eurafricans, that they have their niche, a niche in which everything within and everything without is inimical to great leadership and radical thinking and concerted action. It is a depressing situation—but, sooner or later, all situations change. Meanwhile, the Eurafrican stands with his hat in his hand, hoping. . . .

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And there are many more devices than those we have noted for keeping him hopeful. He goes to Mass or a Dutch Reformed Service and learns that the meek, the persecuted, the poor who take no thought for the morrow are truly blessed, for they shall not only inherit the earth but the kingdom of heaven as well. He goes to the cinemas where he is permitted to go, he has cake and perhaps a new suit for Christmas, and feels that if things are not so good they could easily be worse. At least few call him a bastard now: he is a Christian, a Eurafrican, a white man—almost.

Also, his children may be whiter. For, though the

Eurafricans marry largely among themselves, there is a constant inflow of white genes from the bywoner or landless class of whites in the Union. Created by the craze for cheap labour, they form at least 22 per cent of the total white population, while another 34 per cent live in a state of depression which brings them very near the coloured margin. Circumstances therefore tend to relegate these 'poor whites', and white artisans of somewhat enhanced stability, to social identification with the Eurafrican community. And selection too. For many of these whites prefer coloured wives, and most coloured women prefer white husbands. The situation is reflected in local statistics. In 1921, there were about three thousand more men than women among the Cape Coloured, which cannot be entirely attributed to a natural ratio, and must be considerably affected by the greater ease with which Eurafrican women cross the line. We have already observed a similar situation in India, where the parallel contiguity of comparatively poor whites and Eurasians has already resulted in their qualified union as a social group.

As in India, the enjoyment of certain privileges also attracts a genetic seepage from the native margin: there is blackening at the bottom, whitening at the top, and in between the majority remain just brown. And the psychological consequences are the same. There is the subtle mixture of hatred and admiration and striving which is the 'pro-white attitude', there is the 'dam' nigger spirit', there is the translation of the bleached, which appears to have been more marked in modern South Africa than in India. For in South Africa it is the only hope of material success, and a dash of black goes undetected or ignored. There have been, writes Mrs. Millin (7. 5), 'people filling high positions, people receiving flattery and respect, and it is a commonplace of conversation that they had colour in them.' George Findlay (6. 3) is still more emphatic. 'Many of the finest and worthiest people of South

Eurasiatic types are dominantly involved, Mediterranean genes being widely distributed before the Portuguese, the Spanish, the French and the English, themselves so conspicuously Mediterranean, set out for new worlds to conquer. A Eurasian can travel up and down the East, he can see groups of part-Polynesians and Canadian mixed breeds and South American mestizos, and feel a sense of physical and cultural familiarity associated with his own society at home. He may travel almost anywhere in the southern half of Europe and have that same feeling. He may eat in Portuguese, in Hungarian, in Greek, in Algerian, in many 'foreign' restaurants, and discover the delicacies he knew in his own family. (Only in England, with its 'plain, homely cooking', may the *Anglo-Indian* feel a little strange!) For physically and culturally and temperamentally the world's mixed breeds have a distinct affinity with the Mediterranean type.

That, in propagandist moods, I regard as a most suggestive fact.

*Sampling the American stew,
especially its black ingredients.
Sport for lynching parties to-day,
God's own neglected chillun may
yet make it a Brown stew to-
morrow. For it is typical of the
Negro that 'he laughs and forges
on.'*

10. GOD'S OWN CHILLUN

FEW Americans do not bear the stamp of the mongrel. Some trait gives them away. It may be the shape of their heads or mouths, perhaps their elongated faces with the prominent cheek bones, often their darker skin.

And the mongrel is invariably a conditioned candidate for the white side of the fence. That is a function of the milieu. For Eurasians, as we have seen, it is dominated by a privileged minority which frowns on native associations. For Americans it is threatened by the omnipresent pressure of colour. It is made a question of 'blood', but it is really a question of dollars.

So we have the intensification of the familiar 'dam' nigger spirit', and a Statue of Liberty to decorate the gates of Negro Hell and Oriental Purgatory. So mongrel America, throbbing with the Calvinistic urge for uplift, became the champions of white civilisation before an Alpinoid Austrian with a Nordic soul established himself as God's latest gift to the 'Aryan race'.

But it is one thing to pay this tribute to American inheritance, and another to make a statistical statement of it. The natives are naturally conservative in discussing miscegenation, while visiting students are necessarily tactful. For our purpose, however, it will suffice if we visualise the American population as a

rather warm ice-cream brick, varying white in colour, but with a broad band of melting chocolate, a diluted strip of 'red', a streak of yellow, all beginning to run together.

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The red layer was at one time considerable, for it is estimated that in the sixteenth century there were more than a million Indians in North America. To-day there are 110,000 much hybridised Indians in Canada and 332,000 pure and mixed breeds, isolated in some two hundred concentration camps politely known as 'reservations', in the United States.

School readers and spectacular films suggest that this decrease is due to extermination, to pogroms and the acquisition of white vices, but they are only partly true. For the Indians have also been assimilated and lost in the white population. The process began with the Jamestown Colony sent out by the Virginia Company, which established itself largely through the romantic marriage in 1613 of John Rolfe with 'Princess' Pocahontas, daughter of the 'Emperor' Powhatan, who ruthlessly ruled the Atlantic seaboard. Certain Virginian families still proudly claim descent from this alliance.

In fact, the hybrids of those early days became the old aristocracy of America. For this reason pride in early or noble Indian inheritance continues, and finds familiar expression in the sayings of two great Americans: Charles Curtis, the half-Indian who became Vice-President of the United States, and Will Rogers, the lovable cowboy comedian who never forgot his origins. But, with the subjugation and decline of the Indian tribes, America has discovered that fresh Indian 'blood' is a eugenic menace. Six states expressly legislate against it, and even in Virginia an individual who is more than one-sixteenth Indian (the fraction has its humour) is not allowed to marry a white. Evidently coloured genes, like wine, acquire value with age.

The marital traditions established by the early colonists reached their zenith in the old days of the fur trade, when amicable relations between the traders and the aboriginals were cemented by countless intermarriages. Every trader had a squaw or two, and few were content with the disciplines of regular concubinage. As G. F. G. Stanley (7. 1) writes: 'When Henry Kelsey returned to Fort York in 1692, accompanied by an Indian woman, he only began among the Hudson's Bay Company's employees the practice which had been customary among the French traders and *coureurs de bois* since the early days of Canadian history. The Hudson's Bay Company at first viewed these unions with displeasure, but eventually favoured them as having a steadying effect upon the men and establishing useful trading connexions with the Indians. Accordingly, during the next century and a half, there were few employees of either fur company who did not contract alliances with the Indian women in the neighbourhood of the Companies' forts.' So large families, and many occasional bastards, were raised, who extended native contacts and the economic hold of their Scotch or French fathers. The process has so disintegrated the indigenous stocks that few pure Indians remain in Canada and the vicinity of the Great Lakes.

The remaining Ojibways of Minnesota, for example, are almost completely mongrelised, and have acquired a sort of hybrid aristocracy, among whom are such related families as the Warrens and the Cadottes. William W. Warren, a direct descendant of a *Mayflower* pilgrim, wrote a profound history of the Ojibways and was a member of the Minnesota Legislature at the age of twenty-six, while many other Warrens have distinguished themselves in professional work. Some of them are 'quite white', according to A. E. Jenks (6. 2), and have found a successful place for themselves in white society, how successful the

popularity of a renowned film star partly indicates. A few have bred into the Bongas, an extensive Indian family with Negro connexions.

Similarly, thousands of other Amerindians have jumped the white fence to help in giving 'one hundred per cent' Americans the Mongoloid aspect so frequently observed amongst them. For even 'a dash of Indian blood' appears to go a long way, as pedigree studies show. O. A. Merritt-Hawkes (6. 1) has studied five generations of the Danish Leunbach family sprung from a Dane and a French-Carib woman in the late eighteenth century. She found them superior mentally and physically, Indian characteristics being persistent in spite of the small amount of Indian admixture. Six out of twenty-one persons in the pedigree are dominantly Carib in appearance and five are partly so. Cautiously, she therefore concludes that 'the American type may have been influenced by Indian blood much more than has, so far, been recognised.'

The Amerindian crosses that remain unassimilated are also a potent force in the extension of civilisation and adjustment to new culture patterns. An example is furnished by the Ojibway and Cree hybrids studied by R. Ruggles Gates (6. 1) in Northern Ontario. They are, according to him, 'a hardy race of hunters and trappers and woodsmen, well adapted to the wild pioneering conditions under which they live; they appear to have the hardiness of the native Indians combined with greater initiative and enterprise than the pure Indian would ever show. Many of those with whom I came into contact led one to a feeling of respect for their personal qualities. They push the fringe of civilisation farther north than it would otherwise extend, and help to people a territory which would otherwise be nearly empty. They have adapted some of the Indian's productions and devices, such as moccasins, snowshoes and papoose cradles; but they at the same time attain a condition of living which the Indian alone could not reach, so they may be said

to justify themselves abundantly by their works. The fact that families of every intergrade between pure Indians and pure whites occur together in the same district, although the great majority are clearly intermediate between the two races, does not vitiate the arguments I have used. Rather, it serves to show that an intermediate race may be more progressively adapted to particular conditions than either of the races from which it sprang.'

To this tribute G. F. G. Stanley (7. 1) adds independent testimony. 'To the half-breeds', he writes, 'the Dominion owes much. They were indispensable at the negotiation of every treaty, and to their influence was due in a large part the peaceful relations which existed between the Indians and the whites in the North-West.' Even the demonstrations which began under the half-breed Captain-General Grant in 1816, and ended with the Second Riel Rebellion at Saskatchewan in 1885, had a vitalising effect on Canadian history, though the execution of Louis Riel led to many years of acute 'racial' feeling between English and French Canadians.

The history of these rebellions, which arose out of the feeling that the whites had come '*pour piller notre pays*', is of considerable interest. It emphasises the physical vigour, organising ability, and communal consciousness of the half-breeds, the bonds of unity between those of French and British origin being greater than their differences. They regarded themselves, in fact, as 'The New Nation', and periodically expressed their pride in their mixed heritage. 'It is true', said Louis Riel in his native French, 'that our savage origin is humble, but it is proper that we should honour our mothers as well as our fathers. Why do we concern ourselves so much with the degree of mixture which we possess of European and Indian blood? However little we may have of the one or the other, gratitude and filial love command us to say: "We are Half-Breeds." ' But, as Dr. Stanley writes,

‘neither their racial consciousness, nor their primitive economy was strong enough to maintain the separate identity of the half-breed “nation” in the midst of an overwhelming white immigration and a competitive nineteenth century civilisation.’ It is an instructive comment.

The other aboriginals of North America, the Esquimaux, scarcely concern us here, as they have made little or no contribution to the supposedly white population of America. Yet it is of interest to note that, contrary to popular opinion, pure Esquimaux are now rare. Around the Behring Sea, for example, they have been thoroughly mixed with the Athabaskan-speaking Indians and also with immigrants from Siberia. In West Greenland, where 94 per cent of the island’s population is concentrated, the natives have been heavily impregnated with European genes from the days of the old Norsemen, recent admixture being mostly Danish. K. Birket-Smith (7.1) states that around Disko Bay it is hardly possible to find a pure Esquimaux. This extensive hybridisation he regards as valuable, since the mixed breeds are superior to the pure type by reason of their improved physique, greater energy, wider outlook and increased power of adaptation.

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The remaining Mongoloids in the United States, the Chinese and the Japanese, only form a thin streak in our ice-cream brick, but have doubtless made a weighty contribution to American physiognomy on the Pacific Coast. In 1852, there were 107,000 Chinese in this area but, following restrictive measures towards the close of the century, the strength of this population declined in 1900 to 89,863 and by 1920 to 61,639, as the result of emigration and assimilation. In 1930, however, it had risen to 74,954, the gain being evidently a natural increase, as is shown by the fact that the American-born Chinese steadily increased from 9,010 to 30,868 between 1900 and 1930.

Japanese immigration is of more recent origin. In 1890, there were only 2,039 Japanese in the United States but, in spite of the 'Gentleman's Agreement' between America and Japan and rigid exclusion since 1924, the Japanese population rose to 138,834 in 1930, the majority being concentrated in California, where it owns more than 12 per cent of the arable land and monopolises the crops in certain districts. This increase is also largely natural, the number of American-born rising, as the result of a less discrepant sex ratio than the Chinese, from 269 in 1900 to 68,357 in 1930.

The trend of these two groups is remarkable, when it is considered that in 1910 there were fourteen males to one female among the Chinese, and seven males to one female among the Japanese. Even in 1930, the sex ratio showed a male excess of 4 : 1 and almost 2 : 1 among the Chinese and Japanese respectively, there being a definite tendency, too, among American-born Chinese girls to remain unmarried because of disapproval of their Western ways and their inability to adjust themselves to the status of a Chinese wife. These ratios gain emphasis from the fact that up to 1900 the Chinese and Japanese groups were 90 per cent male—and it is difficult to imagine any appreciable proportion of these men living in states of prolonged celibacy or homosexuality. The inevitable result is not only apparent in the Mongoloid aspect of many whites from the Coastal Range, but also in differences in the appearance and physique of native and American-born Orientals.

There is, of course, legislation against white and Asiatic mixture, for Americans have a touching faith in the efficacy of the law. But in many ways it provokes unsanctioned mixture. The Chinaman finds it difficult to obtain a Chinese wife in America, he may not bring one from China, and he cannot marry a white woman. It is an attempt at mass castration which succeeds only in making the Chinese find 'love' where they may. Moreover, many Chinese-Americans

have alien wives in China whom they periodically visit and fertilise. And the fruits of these reunions have the right to enter America as American citizens, though their mothers may not.

In this way, a small but constant stream of recent immigrants from China is maintained, and it is predominantly male. The Japanese also have ways of circumventing the immigration laws, and a particular advantage in being able to come from Hawaii as American citizens. Restrictive measures therefore favour the growth of Oriental populations as such, and the more they grow the more they will eventually dilute the general population. Cultural Americanisation, which has proceeded rapidly in recent years, ensures the process. The situation is full of subtle irony, but Senators and patriots are apparently unable to appreciate it.

And there are one and a half million Mexicans, and more than fifty thousand Hawaiians and Filipinos and East Indians and Eurasians and 'Other Coloured' too, besides the prospect of further seepage from a colonial empire with a total population of at least thirty millions.

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Above all there are the so-called Negroes, the chocolate band in our ice-cream brick. They came before the *Mayflower*, almost while the Jamestown colonists were still intriguing with Powhatan and indulging themselves with the amiable Werowocomoco maidens. 'About the last of August', wrote John Rolfe when he was back among his tobacco crops in 1619, 'came in a Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars.' And there was already a coloured woman, Angela, in the colony at that time (J. T. Adams, 7. 1). These 'Negars' were the first drops of a black inflow that has run like a dominant river through the whole course of American history, diluting whites and reds, getting diluted itself.

Within two hundred years of that first black cargo, the Negroes represented not less than 25 per cent of the total American population, but the ratio dropped, though a steady growth rate was maintained, after the wave of immigration which started in 1820. To-day there are twelve million acknowledged Negroes in the United States, of whom 78 per cent have white or Indian 'blood' in them, according to M. J. Herskovits (6. 1) and others, and this estimate is generally believed to be understated. This Afroamerican mass constitutes almost 12 per cent of the total white population, and is still largely concentrated in the South, where it forms about a third of the general population, more in some individual States, such as South Carolina. But it is moving northwards. Nearly two millions went in response to industrial needs created since 1910. In New York alone there is the best part of half a million Negroes, and Harlem has become the greatest Negro city in the world.

And these Afroamericans represent a virile, fertile, growing population, with stupendous achievements to its credit in less than a century of emancipation. Almost entirely illiterate seventy years ago, they are now almost entirely literate. This progress is not a function of official encouragement but of Negro enterprise and private benefactions, such as those of the Rosenwald Fund. A. Siegfried (7. 1) notes that in South Carolina a Negro population comprising 51 per cent of the total was only allotted 11 per cent of the educational funds, and on the whole the Negro youth is lucky if the Government spends on him a quarter of the average per capita expenditure on white children. So they have their own schools, colleges and educational funds, though Negro education still leaves much to be desired. Poverty-stricken though they were in 1866, they still raised £16,000 for educational purposes, while in 1926 they raised £600,000.

These facts are a measure of their progress and sense of social responsibility. There are others too

Between 1866 and 1926, their estimated wealth rose from £4 millions to £4,000 millions, the number of Negro-owned homes rose from 12,000 to 700,000, farms from 20,000 to 1,000,000, businesses from 2,000 to 70,000. It was estimated recently that the net sales of Negro retail stores alone amount to £25 millions annually. The history of Negro progress is indeed a fascinating and impressive subject, and they are enlarging it daily.

The smug illusion that the Afroamerican population was declining has also disappeared, except among a few remaining optimists—or pessimists. The Census for 1920 showed a slight decrease in the growth rate, but not in the total number, of this group, which excited the statistical propensities of many American scientists, such as E. M. East (2), who were not mathematically minded enough to weigh all the influencing factors. And the journalists who followed them were not mathematically minded at all. Few spoke, for it was not a nice thing to speak about, of the leakage due to mulattoes crossing the line, a process which, though it has been going on for three centuries, has been greatly accelerated in the last twenty years, it being said that ten to twenty thousand octaroons desert the Negro fold every year. Few seemed to know the effects of new contacts and disequilibrium, of a rapidly changed environment. Or if they knew they pretended not to. They preferred to regard Negroes as inherently weak creatures, whom the white man's God, at last recognising his duty, had visited with innate susceptibility¹ to tuberculosis and certain unspeakable scourges besides.

It was a comforting doctrine. And anyway it would not have been diplomatic to tell the world that black men were dying and wasting away in the Land of the

¹ It might be noted here that René Sand (2) shows that average differences in the health of ethnic groups are due to economic conditions rather than to 'racial inheritance', or the failure of certain 'races' to adapt themselves to 'civilised life'.

Free, because white men had confined them to unhealthy ghettos rivalling those of the mediæval Jews. But, in 1930, the Census pricked the bubbles of comfort and propaganda and falsehood. It showed, and subsequent studies elaborated its showing, that the Afroamericans had definitely increased, reoriented themselves, in spite of leakage and circumstances. It showed that the Negro population had grown from a little over 8·8 millions in 1900 to 9·8 millions in 1910, 10·5 millions in 1920, and 11·9 millions in 1930, the growth rate dropping from 10 per cent in 1910 to 6 per cent in 1920, but rising to 13 per cent in 1930. It has been estimated by the Scripps Foundation that in 1980 the percentage of Negroes in the total American population will be much the same as it is now (C. S. Johnson, 7. 1, 1933), but such forecasts are, of course, highly conjectural. Moreover, it has become evident, too, that the blacks are in many physical and mental respects superior to the whites, and that their weak spots are being increasingly protected by the action of selection, immunisation and improved environment (S. J. Holmes, 7. 1).

Indeed, few peoples have had a more 'eugenic' history, few have been subjected to such rigorous weeding out of the unfit, as the most casual knowledge of slavery days and subsequent circumstances reveals. The Afroamericans have in them the pick of the Negro genes.

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There were writers who said, when it was fashionable to say that the Negroes were doomed and good for nothing, that the Afroamericans' only claim to cultural distinction was jazz. And jazz, they insisted, supported by the magniloquent wit of Aldous Huxley and Wyndham Lewis, was not music.

But something like that was once said of Whistler and Rodin and Rimsky-Korsakov, and something like it is still said of Epstein and Picasso and Stravinsky.

For new art forms are always opposed by devotees of the old, and jazz has the disadvantage of being something more than a new art form. It is the very symbol of freedom from the tradition and repression so carefully conditioned in the white mind by Church and State.

It must be admitted, of course, that there is an incredible amount of nauseatingly succulent jazz; that we are exposed to epidemics of pianissimo crooning to sweet mammas and rural cuties, of Hi-di-ho cacophony about Broadway babies, of pink bottoms wriggling ecstatically to the mild savagery of supposedly Voodoo rhythm. But, mostly, it is not written by Negroes. It is written by white mediocrities and shrewd Jews capitalising on the 'hormone hunger' imposed by Western civilisation on its unfortunate masses. One has only to know the difference between Duke Ellington and Henry Hall to appreciate the gulf that stretches between modern Afroamerican music and its pallid imitators.

And the Afroamericans and other mulattoes have produced more than a new music. They have produced an outstanding array of contributors to every phase of human achievement, in spite of glaring handicaps and social injustice. Hundreds of slave narratives testify to the Negroes' determination to find expression and freedom, of which Gustavus Vassa's autobiography, Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*, the *Narrative* of Frederick Douglass, who was nominated for Vice-President in 1872, and many works by William Wells Brown, have had a profound influence on Afroamerican progress. Douglass, it may be added, is not the only Negro to be selected as a candidate for the Vice-Presidential chair, for J. W. Ford has more than once been nominated for that honour by the Communist Party.

Many other Negroes have attained success in business and public life, several serve with distinction on various legislatures, and in 1929 Oscar De Priest of

Illinois reached the House of Representatives. He was the first Negro Congressman since 1901, when George H. White of North Carolina retired, and has been succeeded by another Negro statesman, Arthur W. Mitchell. As examples of personal tenacity and business ability, Anthony Overton of Chicago and John Merrick of North Carolina are typical, not unique.

The son of a freed slave, his father's thrift enabled Overton to graduate in law from the University of Kansas, but he soon discovered that the Negro lawyer is an unwanted creation. Falling back on the paternal occupation of storekeeping, writes E. R. Embree (7. 1), 'he sold groceries during the daytime and in a back room of the store began the manufacture of baking powder, extracts, and starch. Soon he left the grocery business to others and began travelling all over the South selling his products. He multiplied his own ability to reach customers by putting on a corps of salesmen, and in order to give them a diversity of products, he added a number of toilet preparations to his highly miscellaneous list. His customers were chiefly members of his own race, and he discovered that the standard toilet articles would not harmonise with pigmented complexions. He began to turn out Negro specialties, particularly in face powders, and his High Brown products achieved such popularity as to become a by-word.

'Mr. Overton's experience in manufacturing and merchandising led him into banking. As a coloured merchant he found difficulty in obtaining capital and credit. He therefore organised his own bank in order to help in financing his own business and as a service to his race. To his other enterprises he later added a life insurance company and a newspaper, the *Chicago Bee*. The assets of his Douglas National Bank now (1930) total nearly \$2,000,000 of which 1,200,000 is in savings accounts. His Victory Life Insurance Company is gaining a wide circle of policy holders

and has about half a million dollars invested in mortgages on Negro homes. . . : In the series of bank failures that followed the depression, the bank of which Mr. Overton is president was one of those able to stand the strain of frozen credits and the panic of depositors. . . .'

Merrick's career is still more colourful. 'He was born a slave in 1859,' writes P. Lewinson (7. 1), 'worked in a brickyard for six years after the war, learning to read and write at night, and went to Raleigh to carry a hod and lay bricks for Shaw University in 1877. Here he became necessarily a bootblack and a barber, finally moving to Durham, where he eventually became the proprietor of his own shop. His trade brought him in contact with the white leaders of the city, including the Duke family, whom he later induced to found a Negro hospital, a training school for nurses, and other institutions for Durham's coloured community. Meanwhile, he bought real estate and houses, and slowly became well-to-do. Before his death in 1920, he had been active in the founding of a successful benefit association, a bank, and an insurance company which in 1930 occupied a six-storey building in Durham's best business section and had an annual premium income of a million and a quarter dollars.' This venture is the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, now under C. C. Spaulding, who is regarded as one of the outstanding leaders of Negro finance. It employs over a thousand Negroes, has more than 200,000 policy holders, and pays to them and their beneficiaries about a million dollars a year.

In the British colonies, too, persons of Negro extraction have achieved outstanding positions more often than is commonly supposed. Hildred Britton (in Cunard, 7. 1) mentions Sir Donald Cameron of Demerara, till very recently Governor of Nigeria and at one time of British Guiana; Sir Edward Davson, Bt., of British Guiana, a prominent public

man and economist who married a daughter of Elinor Glyn's; and Sir Conrad Reeves of Barbados, as belonging in this category. And there are many more of equal prominence. In Trinidad, for example, the late Sir Henry Alcazar acquired a fortune at the Bar and distinguished himself in the public service. Sir Lennox O'Reilly has followed ably in his footsteps. Another British mulatto who deserves to be mentioned is Sir John Sarbah, one of the most distinguished lawyers of Queen Victoria's time and author of *The Fanti Customary Laws*. I also recall with pleasure my own association with W. N. C. Belgrave, a noted mycologist in the Colonial Service, whose attainments, administrative gifts and general popularity have put him in a class by himself among the scientific officials of the Department of Agriculture in British Malaya.

Among Afroamerican workers concerned with scientific and social advance, the following names contradict the frequent assertion that Negro achievement, if any, is confined to politics and the arts: W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, a man of many parts who is also a noted writer, editor and sociologist; Carter G. Woodson, historian and editor of *The Journal of Negro History*; Arthur A. Schomburg, historian and Secretary of the Negro Society for Historical Research; E. Franklin Frazier, C. S. Johnson, W. P. Dabney, Alain Locke, Zora Neale Hurston, and Kelly Miller (author of an early standard work on *Race Adjustment*), sociologists and students of Negro affairs generally; Francis Sumner, who studied at Vienna with Freud and has earned a real reputation as a psychologist; Percy Julian, also of the University of Vienna, a distinguished chemist; C. V. Roman, physician and sociologist; Ernest Just, a renowned zoologist; T. K. Lawless, one of the world's foremost dermatologists; R. R. Moton, late head of Tuskegee, and Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, first Negro President of Howard University, two of America's leading

educationists ; M. N. Work, educationist, bibliographer and compiler of *The Negro Year Book* ; the late J. J. Thomas of Trinidad, who gave the Creole language its grammar and pricked the bubble of J. A. Froude with his *Fraudacity* ; George Carver, a Foreign Member of the Royal Society, who is not only one of the wizards of agricultural chemistry, but a botanist, artist, musician and writer as well ; and Benjamin Banneker (1731-1804), astronomer, mathematician and patriot, who was the first American to make an almanac and a clock. As a political thinker, he drew up a programme for the promotion of peace which forestalled Wilson and the League of Nations by more than a century.

In the realms of exploration and military prowess, Negroes have also found a place, though it is popularly believed, in spite of Havelock Ellis's proof (2) that most British explorers have been dark men, that activities requiring personal courage are confined to Nordics. In the early days of Spanish and Portuguese exploration many Negroes played an important part, one of whom, Estevancio, was the discoverer of Arizona and New Mexico. In the last century, M. R. Delany, R. Campbell and G. A. Crowther won renown for their explorations in Africa, while Paul Belloni du Chaillu, the supposedly white explorer and biologist who gave us, according to Sir Arthur Keith (3, 1916), 'our first intimate glimpse of the conditions of life among man-like apes', was really a quadroon from Réunion. Matthew Henson, author of *A Negro at the North Pole*, accompanied Commander Peary on his last Polar expedition.

Among exceptional Negro soldiers since Hannibal of Carthage, the names of Toussaint L'Ouverture, General Thomas Dumas, father of the first novelist of that name, General Alfred Dodds, the Anglo-African Senegalese who became one of the best-known generals in France, and General Antonio Maceo, the Cuban Garibaldi, spring most readily to the mind. The

name of Crispus Attucks also deserves mention, though he was not a professional soldier. He was one of the major heroes of the Boston Massacre of 1770, which started the downfall of British rule in America. In the Great War, Afroamerican and other Negro soldiers, such as those of the British West Indies Regiment, rendered valuable and courageous service, in spite of malicious defamation and discrimination. Dr. Embree states that the Negro sergeant, Henry Johnson, was the first soldier of the entire American Expeditionary Forces to receive the Croix de Guerre with star and palm, while many others were also honoured for gallantry in the field. It is hardly necessary to add that Negro soldiers of French nationality fared better than most of the black combatants, many rising to important positions. The air defences of Paris, for example, were under the direction of a Negro, Colonel De M. Mortenol.

§

In literature and the arts, the Afroamericans have a still prouder history. One does not need to go to Paris to know the work of H. O. Tanner, nor to America to hear of William E. Scott, Archibald Motley and Aaron Douglas. In sculpture, the work of Richard Barthé, Augusta Savage, Edmonia Lewis and May Howard Jackson has attracted considerable attention, while that of Meta Warrick Fuller is undoubtedly work that will live, though she lost many of her best pieces in a fire in 1910. Of her, while still a student in Paris, Rodin said that she had the sense of form in her fingers, that she was a Sculptress. In architecture, Paul R. Williams shines as one of the best-known designers of modern homes in Hollywood and Southern California.

In poetry and music, Negroes have produced so much of real distinction that it is difficult for a casual student to name representative contributors. Paul

Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906) is undoubtedly the first great Afroamerican poet, but several others produced noteworthy work before his time, among whom G. M. Horton, Jupiter Hammon, Alberry A. Whitman and Phillis Wheatley, the slave girl who attracted universal attention and was a guest of Lady Huntingdon in 1773, seem to deserve special mention.

In this century, the work and anthologies of William Stanley Braithwaite have given him a unique place in American poetry, while Countee Cullen, who has enhanced his reputation still further with *The Medea and Some Poems*, Georgia Douglas Johnson, who is regarded by some as 'expressing the most lyric voice of the Negro', and Sterling A. Brown, whose recent volume, *Southern Road*, is certainly something distinctive in vital poetry, have earned assured reputations. The same may also be said of the vigorous work of Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Angelina Weld Grimké, Fenton Johnson, Arna Bontemps, Richard White and Donald Jeffrey Hayes. And for precocious genius there is Lula Lowe Weeden, who at the age of nine found a place in Countee Cullen's discriminating anthology, *Caroling Dusk*.

In South America and the West Indies, Machado de Assis of Brazil, Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (Plácido), Nicolás Guillén and Regino Pedroso of Cuba, and Etzer Vilaire, Oswald Durand and Jacques Roumain of Haiti, have produced work that is internationally known, while Egbert Martin of Demerara, who is the author of one of the stanzas in the British national anthem and a volume entitled *Leo's Poems*, attracted much attention towards the close of the last century. From Martinique there is Leon Laviaux, the son of Paul Gauguin and a mulattress. The flame of genius is very evident in his *Ebon Muse and other Poems*, but unfortunately he died soon after its publication. In Africa itself, little worthwhile poetry appears to have been written, but this comment must

be qualified by my own ignorance of African poetry. Certainly, some excellent verse has been written by Gladys Casely Hayford of Sierra Leone, a young Fanti woman who was educated at Penrhos College, Colwyn Bay.

In Europe, many poets of African origin have reached the front rank, the greatest being Alexander Pushkin, great grandson of Peter the Great's Ethiopian godchild and General, Ibrahim Hannibal. Of English-speaking poets, it is not generally known that Elizabeth Barrett Browning was, Americanly speaking, a coloured woman with a West Indian heritage.

In other branches of literature, too, Negroes have a creditable record, as the works (7. 1) of R. C. Barton, V. Loggins, V. F. Calverton and Benjamin Brawley, the Afroamerican literary historian, show. Many Negro writers and scholars attained eminence before the days of Alexandre Dumas, father and son. In the mid-sixteenth century, Juan Latino won a doctorate at the University of Granada, where he was also appointed to the chair of poetry. The eighteenth century was so prolific in Negro genius that it is difficult to name individuals without writing a history, but Anthony Amo and Ignatius Sancho may be mentioned as representative examples. Amo's philosophical learning, coupled with his wide knowledge of classical and modern languages, elevated him to a professorship at the University of Wittenberg and to the position of State Counsellor at the Court of Berlin. Sancho's charm and judgment made him a popular figure in the social and literary London of his time. His letters have reached at least ten editions.

In our own times, most of the Negro poets have also written fiction and other prose, just as many novelists have experimented in verse, but Jessie Fauset, Nella Larsen, Rudolph Fisher, Charles W. Chestnutt, George Schuyler, Eric Walrond, Wallace Thurman and Walter F. White are best known for their prose. John F. Matheus, a West Virginia

college professor and linguist whose knowledge of the Negro in international literature is almost unrivalled, has also found time for lighter exercises in verse and fiction. The name of J. W. Johnson, whose fictional *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* is one of the best-known Negro books, should perhaps be added to this list, though it is difficult to classify so versatile a man. He has earned distinction as an American Consul, educationist, poet, playwright and translator of several Spanish plays, pioneer in the popularisation of Negro music and poetry, and whole-hearted worker in the causes and institutions of his people. His fascinating autobiography, *Along this Way*, has been rightly described as 'a book any man might be proud to have written about a life any man might be proud to have lived.'

Another modern Negro writer, but not an Afro-american, who deserves to be mentioned is René Maran. His *Batoula* won the Prix Goncourt and created a literary sensation a few years ago. Many other Negroes have written in French, and in Spanish and Portuguese, but I share the usual English ignorance, which library and literary conditions in England do not help to enlighten, of their work.

§

In music and the theatre, Negro genius has multiplied so rapidly, since the Fisk Jubilee Singers introduced the spirituals and plantation melodies to Europe over sixty years ago, that any attempt to assess it here must be even more inadequate than the preceding reviews of Negro achievements in other spheres of human endeavour. Occasional Negroes also attained eminence before the Fisk Singers captivated the world. The Chevalier Saint-Georges of Guadeloupe was well known in French musical circles towards the end of the eighteenth century for his compositions, especially those for quartettes. It is said that Saint-Georges

and his master, Gossec, were the first Frenchmen to write string quartettes. Saint-Georges shone, too, as a courtier at Versailles, an expert swordsman, and the founder of a body of coloured troops known as Saint-Georges Legion. The French also claim Edmund Dede of New Orleans and Joseph White of Cuba, both of whom attracted attention during the mid-nineteenth century as violinists and composers.

Joseph White's career began, as a pupil of Alard and an official of the Conservatoire, on the advice of Louis M. Gottschalk, a Negro, who was the first musician from America to win renown in Europe, his compositions being highly praised by Chopin and others. One of his pianoforte pieces, *Cubana*, is the origin of *The Peanut Vendor* (with which the rumba first hit the dance halls), according to George Antheil (in Cunard, 7. 1). More or less contemporary with Gottschalk was George Augustus Bridgetower, the Polish Negro violinist who played the Kreutzer sonata, which was originally dedicated to him, with Beethoven at Vienna in 1805. Bridgetower took a degree in music at Cambridge six years later and died in England. It is said that, with Prince Saunders, the Afroamerican writer, propagandist and Attorney-General of Haiti who became popular in anti-slavery circles in England, Bridgetower was a 'personal friend' of King George IV. His Majesty seems to have had a penchant for people of colour, and I remember reading in an early Anglo-Indian newspaper that he had been much attracted by a pretty Eurasian girl who was presented at Court.

Coming nearer our own times, the name of the English mulatto, Samuel Coleridge Taylor, overshadows that of any other Negroid composer of serious music. One of the greatest and most prolific of British composers, he is best known for his choral works, of which the *Hiawatha* trilogy and *A Tale of Old Japan* have been sung wherever music is appreciated. But Coleridge Taylor owed much of his

inspiration to Africa and has had a profound influence on the development of Afroamerican music, his work and visits to America being the background for the progress of choral music in that country. In passing it is of interest to note his remarkable resemblance to Beethoven, as those who care to compare the portrait facing page 80 of W. C. B. Sayer's biography (Cassell, 1915) with that facing page 154 of W. J. Turner's biography of Beethoven (Benn, 1927) can see for themselves, in spite of differences in age, posture and technique. Coleridge Taylor himself was very conscious of this resemblance, and was fond of saying that if Beethoven had been born late enough to visit modern America his complexion and pronounced Negroid aspect, attributed by some recent biographers to an unknown 'Spanish strain', would have made it difficult for him to secure hotel accommodation.

Among Afroamericans more or less contemporary with Coleridge Taylor, H. T. Burleigh is known as the dean of American composers. The possessor of a splendid baritone voice, he has been a pioneer in the development of American folk music, and many of his songs are internationally popular. Equally celebrated in the same sphere is J. Rosamond Johnson, who is regarded as 'the apostle of Negro music taken seriously', and R. Nathaniel Dett of the Hampton Institute. Lawrence Brown, a familiar figure in England as Paul Robeson's accompanist, has also played an important part in the development of the spirituals, which Hall Johnson and his Negro Choir execute with such stirring perfection.

Along with these pioneers of American vocal music, mention must be made, too, of Will Marion Cook, violinist, composer and musical director, whose choral compositions and renderings of orchestral music created a sensation in Europe and America some years ago. And it should be added that some of the most famous American songs and ballads of the nineteenth

century were written by Negroes, such as James Bland and Septimus Winner, better known by the pseudonym Alice Hawthorne. There cannot be an American, and very few Europeans, who does not know Bland's *Carry me Back to Old Virginia*.

In operatic and ballet music, the Negro influence has been indirect rather than direct. It is as evident in Debussy, Tschaikovsky, Moussorgsky, Stravinsky (whose Asiatic inheritance is evident in his Eurasian features) and others, as it is in modern art movements. But more direct Negro contributions are not lacking. Miss Ira Amanda Aldridge ('Montague Ring'), well known in London as a teacher and composer who has conducted her own work at Buckingham Palace, has used African themes in her ballet music as well as her vocal and pianoforte pieces. Clarence Cameron White, concert violinist and musical director at the Hampton Institute, has recently enhanced his reputation as a serious composer with the opera, *Ouanga*, while Shirley Gräham's *Tom-Tom* is regarded, according to a penetrating Negro critic, Edward G. Perry (in *Cunard*, 7. 1), as 'the Negro musician's most significant venture in the field of grand opera.'

In jazz music, the Negro reigns supreme. Supported by Cuban and other South American mulattoes, he is the creator, directly and indirectly, of modern dance tunes and dancing, from rag-time and the cake-walk to the tango and the blues. The 'aristocrat' of these musicians is Duke Ellington, whose *Mood Indigo* and other works have become concert rather than restaurant music. And a special tribute must be paid to W. C. Handy, 'father of the blues', whose classic *St. Louis Blues* has been recorded by Paul Robeson and is the obvious inspiration of Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*.

In the theatrical and film world, Negroes have not yet come to the fore as playwrights. They have inspired rather than written outstanding plays, though

several Afroamericans have done meritorious work as dramatists, as the symposium by Alain Locke and M. Gregory (7. 1) shows. Langston Hughes's *Mulatto* is perhaps the best-known Negro play, but Garland Anderson's *Appearances* was the first play by a Negro to be successful on Broadway and in the West End. The work of C. L. R. James, author of a delightful novel, *Minty Alley*, of Negro life in the West Indies, also shows great promise. His dramatisation of the story of Toussaint L'Ouverture has been published in *The Criterion* and has had a warmly acclaimed trial run in London with Paul Robeson in the title rôle.

Among Negro singers and actors, on the other hand, genius is conspicuous. At the top of the list one should undoubtedly put Paul Robeson, once a lawyer and all-American football star, whose dramatic talent and glorious voice has made him one of the major idols of screen and stage. To know him, to feel his charm and unusually wide culture, is a privilege; to hear him sing at a packed Albert Hall recital is a spiritual experience. Shakespearean enthusiasts still remember his *Othello* at Drury Lane, but Robeson would not wish it to be felt that he was the first Negro actor to lend distinction to that rôle. Ira Aldridge was a sensation in it almost a century before Robeson.

Clustered around the Robesonian pinnacle are Roland Hayes, the famous tenor; Jules Bledsoe, the baritone and dramatic actor who preceded Robeson in *Emperor Jones* and *Show Boat*; the late Richard B. Harrison, who added further glory to his career as De Lawd in *Green Pastures*; the late Charles Gilpin, who rose from variety to distinction on the legitimate stage; Marian Anderson, the renowned contralto who still delights international audiences; Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, in her time regarded by many as superior to Jenny Lind, who was followed by Marie Selika and Sisseretta Jones; and Rose McClendon,

a dramatic actress of rare merit, whose fine performances in *Porgy*, *Deep River* and *In Abraham's Bosom* are particularly well known.

And approaching the heights are Daniel Haynes and Nina Mae McKinney, a versatile couple who are seen to their best advantage in *Hallelujah*; Stepin Fetchitt, the star of *Hearts in Dixie*, whose droll figure has been a feature of many films; Frank Wilson, known to London audiences for his part in *Porgy*; Rex Ingram, who is so superb in the film version of *Green Pastures*; and Maud Cuney Hare and William R. Richardson, who have done so much for the appreciation of Creole music.

So much for Negro culture. It would appear that V. F. Calverton (7. 1) was certainly right when he said that the Negro 'has developed out of the American *milieu* a form of expression, a mood, a literary *genre*, a folk-tradition, that are distinctly and undeniably American. This is more than the white man has done. The white man in America has continued, and in an inferior manner, a culture of European origin. . . . In respect of originality, then, the Negro is more important in the growth of American culture than the white man. His art is richer, more spontaneous, and more captivating and convincing in its appeal.'

§

And now we must return to our ice-cream brick, to the unpasteurised cream in the confection: the whites, the near-whites, the not-so-whites to whom that first colony of butchers and blackguards on the York River opened the golden gates of Opportunity. They came in such numbers that still little more than half the American population of 123 millions can claim to be native born of native-born parents. And of these a large percentage are Negroes.

A brief examination of this immigrant stream reveals three major tidal waves, each carrying with it a

different type of European left-overs. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the first and weakest of these waves brought the British and Protestant colonists. In New England they were Puritan Dissenters; in the South they were Anglicans, who formed a feudal aristocracy inspired by mint juleps and Sir Walter Scott, and supported in the arduous task of genteel pioneering by boat-loads of convicts and slaves. But fundamentally they were all British and Protestant, and regarded themselves as God's Chosen People in a new Promised Land. So they swept the country with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other. They exterminated aboriginals and bison with equal impartiality, and in their more amiable moments they dressed Indians in breech clouts and taught them the Word of the One God. They butchered and swindled and raped and proselytised—and bequeathed to modern America its characteristically British and Protestant heritage.

Indeed, in many respects, America is an English suburb, a Brobdingnagian Balham, a little less constipated perhaps, a little more definitely the best in the world. There is the same psalm-singing parochialism, the feeling for liberty and justice which becomes hypocrisy outside the herd and often within it, the assumption of moral and social superiority, the prodigious capacity for ratiocination, the regard for private property and wealth sanctified by labour or shrewdness, and the resistance to socialism tempered, however, by a deeper spirit of Calvinistic collectivism and an urge for reforms which produced Wilson and made Roosevelt possible.

And there is the same ethnomania. In fact, for the 'Nordic' South the newer gospel of the Great Race is merely an elaboration of a creed that was established before the modern apostles were born, before slavery had been replaced by Negrophobia. During the storm of fiery invective that preceded the Civil War, it was said that the incapable, whore-mongering and other-

wise degenerated Northerners needed firm government, which the Southerners had inherited the racial capacity to administer. For the Southerners, their leading literary journal declared in 1860, were the descendants of the Normans 'who to-day sit upon all the thrones of enlightened Europe and give law to the million', while the Yankees were 'a slave race', the doubtfully legitimate progeny of ancient British and Saxon serfs. Yet to-day the North embraces the doctrine that once exposed them on the stocks of ridicule.

The second wave of immigration, which came between 1840 and 1880, carried ten million Europeans across the Atlantic. They were still dominantly 'Nordic', that is to say 90 per cent of them came from the supposedly Nordic regions of northern and western Europe, which is not quite the same thing. Prominent among them were masses of Germans, always strong champions of racial *Kultur*, who remain the largest foreign element in the United States. But 8 per cent of the immigrants were definitely Latin and Slav, and many of the others were also ethnically Mediterranean or Alpine. There were Welshmen, there were tough adventurers from the Emerald Isle, there were Catholics and Jews. The 'American character' began to get a trifle complicated. There was Teutonic seriousness, Irish spontaneity and wilfulness, Catholic democracy. But still they were dominantly Nordic and Protestant, and all were colonisers if no longer pioneers.

The last great wave of immigration (1880-1914) was a tidal bore. It brought twenty-two million Europeans, not as premier colonists but in search of work and security and relief from pogroms at home. And they were no longer dominantly Nordic; in fact, the ratio was inverted. For 90 per cent of them came from the Latin and Slav countries of southern and eastern Europe, and there were more Irish and Jews, many more Irish and Jews. The children of Luther and Calvin gave way to those of St. Peter and Moses.

The 'American character' became exceedingly complicated, but through it all the good old British tradition and bourgeois temper can still be detected. Foreigners change their names and become aggressively American in response to it.

§

This, then, is the ethnic background for the new Star-Spangled Manner. It is this hotch-potch of peoples which Madison Grant (3, 1934) regards as being 70 per cent Nordic, it is in them that the lust for Nordic purity surges. It is, as Bacon wrote, 'a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superficieses to seem body that hath depth and bulk.'

For a majority of the embryonic 'American race' is of Mediterranean, Eurasiatic and Negro origin. Many 'Old Americans', who are mostly dark and round-headed according to a classical study by A. Hrdlička (6. 1), and several new ones, are really Eurasians in a wide sense; many are Eurafricans or Eur-Afro-Asians, both among the white and coloured groups. The result is that increasing white nigrescence and brown albescence are phenomena of such common observation that one inevitably pictures the Americans of To-morrow, if undisturbed by any large wave of Asiatic or Northern European immigration, as a phenotypically Mediterranean people with distinct Alpine, Mongolian and African elements.

That a nation so mongrelised, and so much dependent on continued mixture for future uniformity, should fill their statute books with grotesque laws against miscegenation indicates a hysterical lack of proportion. Thirty States, according to P. Wittenberg (5), forbid intercourse between whites and any coloured, and in six a constitutional enactment prohibits the legislatures from ever passing laws that

legalise marriages between whites and Negroids. In Georgia, marriage between a white and a person with 'an ascertainable trace' of African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian or Mongolian 'blood' is forbidden, while in Virginia a drop of Negroid dilution, if it is known, puts an otherwise white man outside his own class. In some States, sexual relations with coloured people of any origin are forbidden, and in a few Negroes are even legally expected not to pollute the 'nobler' Indian and Oriental stocks. In Texas, the parties to a mixed marriage, no matter where it was contracted, expose themselves to imprisonment for five years if they live as man and wife within the borders of this broncho-busting State.

The bases of these laws are stated by the legislatures 'in terms of such social data as appeal to their particular bias or prejudice, such as the prevention of unholy alliances, contrary to the laws of God and nature, and the preservation of the so-called purity of the race.' Racially of negligible value, especially as there are many ways of circumventing them, including the interesting one of whites declaring themselves as Negroes, they sanction a degree of persecution and misery that must quell the faith of the stoutest believer in the efficacy of Christian brotherhood. While they contaminate American administration, the world will know that when H. G. Wells (7. 1) wrote of the 'relative unimportance of large mass antagonisms' in America, and the absence of any 'widespread conception of racial incompatibility', he was merely indulging a wish-fulfilment rather than stating a fact.

The persistence of such a situation, with its emotional fixations and dissipation of intellectual energy, can only end in the moral and cultural bankruptcy of white America.

§

The psychology associated with the Afroamericans' resistance to vicissitude is interesting. That they have survived being harnessed to a treadmill is partly due to the complex of qualities so admirably summed up in the German word *Gemütlich*. They have borne suffering with good nature and a quiet philosophy, supported by an unshakable belief in themselves as 'God's own chillun' on whom some day the light must shine. Compensation is the essence of their poetry, as these lines from a poem by Elihu Dunn (quoted from Noël Coward's anthology, *Spangled Unicorn*) will show :

'Come with yo po hearts a-weary
 Yo po souls a-stetchin' upwards to de light
 Neber yo mind ma people
 Neber yo mind when de white folks
 Stand in the dusty streets a-nid noddin'
 Der fool white heads
 And a-laughin' and a-jeering
 De Lord lubs yo same as he lubs de kingfisher . . .
 Come on, yo po people
 Ma people.'

And it is more calmly expressed, with a sense of historical background, in this verse from Countee Cullen's *From the Dark Tower* :

'We shall not always plant while others reap
 The golden increment of bursting fruit,
 Not always countenance, abject and mute,
 That lesser men should hold their brothers cheap ;
 Not everlastingly while others sleep
 Shall we beguile their limbs with mellow flute,
 Not always bend to some more subtle brute ;
 We were not made eternally to weep.'

Also in these philosophic verses from Georgia Douglas Johnson's *Hope* :

‘ Frail children of sorrow, dethroned by a hue,
The shadows are flecked by the rose sifting through,
The world has its motion, all things pass away,
No night is omnipotent, there must be day.

The cycle of seasons, the tidals of man
Resolve in the orb of an infinite plan,
We move to the rhythm of ages long done,
And each has his hour—to dwell in the sun ! ’

It is evident, too, combined with the spirit indicated by its title, in Paul Laurence Dunbar's fine poem, *We Wear the Mask*, of which the following is the last verse :

‘ We smile, but, O great Christ, our cries
To thee from tortured souls arise.
We sing, but oh the clay is vile
Beneath our feet, and long the mile ;
But let the world dream otherwise,
We wear the mask ! ’

Compensation is often allied with contempt, its strongest ally, as three of the above four quotations show. In these lines, *For a Lady I Know*, by Countee Cullen, there is contempt alone, gaining power from its very restraint :

‘ She even thinks that up in heaven
Her class lies late and snores,
While poor black cherubs rise at seven
To do celestial chores.’

Frequently compensation burgeons into wish-fulfilment, into a feeling of destined superiority, as in Fenton Johnson's *Children of the Sun*. Here is a sample :

‘ We are children of the sun,
Rising sun !
Weaving Southern destiny
Waiting for the mighty hour
When our Shiloh shall appear
With the flaming sword of right,

With the steel of brotherhood,
And emboss in crimson die
Liberty! Fraternity!'

The same spirit is more powerfully expressed in *The New Negro*, by the blind poet and journalist, James Edward McCall. This is the complete poem:

'He scans the world with calm and fearless eyes,
Conscious within of powers long since forgot;
At every step, new man-made barriers rise
To bar his progress—but he heeds them not.
He stands erect, though tempests round him crash,
Though thunder bursts and billows surge and roll;
He laughs and forges on, while lightnings flash
Along the rocky pathway to his goal.
Impassive as a Sphinx, he stares ahead—
Foresees new empires rise and old ones fall;
While caste-mad nations lust for blood to shed,
He sees God's finger writing on the wall.
With soul awakened, wise and strong he stands,
Holding his destiny within his hands.'

The development of a compensatory mechanism, which is not always 'a nostalgic wailing after departed glories or a yearning for other-worldly' rewards (E. Freeman, 1), leads inevitably to a materialistic and aggressive attitude, challenging existing dogmas and conventions, exposing aids to oppression, expressing the spirit of intellectual and economic freedom. So there are many Negro poets, from the unknown muses of the labour and chain gangs to the younger Communist intellectuals, who have burnt the mask. Here is an example, from one of the labourers' songs collected by Lawrence Gellert (in Cunard, 7. 1), which shows the shrewdness that resides among the most ignorant Negroes:

'While nigger he busy
Wit' Bible an' pray
White folks dey's stealin'
De whole eart' 'way.

White folks use whip
White folks use trigger
But 'twere Bible an' Jesus
Made slave of de nigger.'

From such lines as these it is but a step to the critical, satirical verse of the Communist intellectual, Langston Hughes. His work, and these lines from *Goodbye Christ*, are characteristic of the young Negro temper:

' Listen, Christ,
You did alright in your day, I reckon—
But that day's gone now.
They ghosted you up a swell story, too,
Called it Bible—
But it's dead now.
The popes and the preachers've
Made too much money from it.
They've sold you to too many
Kings, generals, robbers and killers—
Even to the Czar and the Cossacks,
Even to Rockefeller's Church,
Even to The Saturday Evening Post.
You ain't no good no more.
They've pawned you
Till you've done wore out.
Goodbye,
Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova,
Beat it on away from here now.
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
A real guy named
Marx Communist Lenin Peasant Stalin Worker ME—
I said, ME !
Go ahead on now,
You're getting in the way of things, Lord. . . .
Move !
Don't be so slow about movin' !
The world is mine from now on—
And nobody's gonna sell ME
To a king, or a general,
Or a millionaire.'

Claude McKay, the Jamaican who became the pioneer of Afroamerican 'race poetry', also belongs to the Left, but he fans rather than offends the emotionalism of the majority, as in the famous poem *If We Must Die*. It is a call for courage and action that ran through the Negro world like an electric shock. Listen to it:

'If we must die—let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die—oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honour us though dead.

Oh, kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but—fighting back!'

And in his fiery lines *To the White Fiends* he bursts into this passionate declaration:

'Think you that I am not fiend and savage too?
Think you I could not arm me with a gun
And shoot down ten of you for every one
Of my black brothers murdered, burnt by you?'

But his aggressiveness is invariably qualified. He knows the psychological value of putting the Negro on a higher plane than that of a fighter. So he follows these lines with a vision of the black man showing his 'little lamp' as an agent of peace; violence, he says, is not the Negroes' way. He feels, too, as he says in a fine poem, *America*, a love for 'this cultured hell that tests' his youth, and stands 'within her walls with not a shred of terror, malice, not a word of jeer.'

And in the poetry of every repressed group there is

the ethnic *Zeitgeist* finding voice, urging the forward march in unity and traditional pride. Here is a fragment from that superb Hebrew poet, Chaim Nachman Bialik (quoted from Milton Steinberg's excellent study, *The Making of the Modern Jew*) :

' If thy soul would know the fountain
 Whence thy martyred brethren drew
 In days of evil such strength, courage of soul
 To go rejoicing to meet death, to bare the neck
 To each keen blade, to each swinging axe. . . .
 If thy soul would know the bosom into which were poured
 All the tears of thy people, its heart, its soul and bitterness ;
 The place where they flowed like water, where its sighs burst
 forth,
 Sighs that shook the womb of Hell beneath,
 Sighs that froze even Satan in horror,
 A lament that shattered flint but not the hard heart of the
 enemy,
 Which was stronger than flint, more cruel than Satan. . . .
 Ah, my poor brother, if thou knowest not all this—
 Then turn to the academy, the old and venerable. . . .
 Then thy heart will tell thee
 That thy foot treadeth on the threshold of the house of our
 life
 And thine eye beholdeth the treasury of our soul.'

§

So the spirit of the downtrodden marches on. And in this spirit a new danger lies. It is the danger, so marked in the growing 'race consciousness' of the Negro, of the feeling of inferiority imposed upon the coloured peoples giving way to a feeling of superiority rather than equality. The ultimate result of this natural reaction might be a new cycle of ethnic relations and repressions, in which colour values alone would be different, in which the same vulgarities would be perpetuated with a different kind of slang. It is a point worth pondering. And if it is pondered it will be obvious that biraciality,

the temporary situation of white governors and coloured governed, can only continue conflict and intensify hates and irrational prides. Nor is parallel and supposedly equitable development, under the tutelage of 'advanced nations who can best undertake this responsibility', the solution to the problem. In fact, the new concern for the preservation of native mores, stimulated by the growing association between anthropology and administration, is little more than a cloak for continued exploitation. It is not difficult to appreciate the purpose of Lord Lugard's 'Dual Mandate' philosophy and General Smuts's championship of its purpose, or the League's concern for those 'peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world', those dearly beloved peoples whose 'well-being and development form a sacred trust of civilisation'.

For Western regard for sacred trusts has been amply demonstrated in its relations with people unable to stand by themselves. It is shown in Africa, in India, in America, in French ferocity in Syria, in the reactionary Zion created so largely at Arab expense by the British in Palestine as a reward for Dr. Weizmann's contributions to the horrors of the last war. In Africa, it has expressed itself in the appropriation of native lands on a scale, as Lord Olivier says, 'unprecedented in the history of mankind', on a scale which forms a most 'singular phenomenon'. There what the Lords giveth they invariably taketh away, as the natives of Kenya have again learned.

The lesson of Kenya is worth recalling. In 1930, they rejoiced in a Natives Land Trust Ordinance, which they regarded as a Magna Carta securing them political and economic security. But, in 1932, when the Kakamega gold rush began, the Ordinance was suitably amended, and the natives were driven off their possessions and left to fend for themselves or to work at the mines. No compensation was given as the Ordinance had promised. As P. G. Mockerie (7. 5),

a patient and hopeful African, writes: 'The Kakamega gold-field is a test of the supremacy of the black man's interests in Kenya. If the white man really means what he declares, the best way of showing this is for the Kenya Government to buy out the private companies and develop the gold for the interest of the African community. Moreover, to ask the Government to keep its word is to give good advice at this stage in the development of relations between Africans and modern European civilisation.'

But Mr. Mockerie should learn that the British Government does not take advice from niggers. His American brothers must learn, too, that 'America also is, by the very constitution on which she has built her life, committed to the same (Lugardian) ideal.' So writes Basil Mathews (3), a student with much 'sympathetic and spiritual insight', expressed in a somewhat unspiritual style. He tells us, with emphasised approval, that President Harding saw in a passage from Lord Lugard's *magnum opus* 'the true way out' of the American ethnic dilemma. Mr. Harding liked it so much that he quoted it to a Southern audience in 1921, and Lord Lugard liked Mr. Harding's liking it so much that he also grew fond of increasing its audience. 'Here, then,' it states with charming humility, 'is the *true* conception of the inter-relation of colour: complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race-purity and race-pride; equality in things spiritual, agreed divergence in the physical and material.'

This is great stuff for a Southern audience, and the journalist President, whose administration was responsible for some of the blackest pages in American history, certainly knew what to give it. For who among that race-crazy unintelligentsia would know

that the basis of Indirect Rule, which is a tyrannical and cheap method of administration (G. Padmore, 7. 5), was circumstantially forced upon Lugard, the philosophy coming afterwards? Who would enquire what 'a true conception' is, how uniformity in ideals and cultural equality is possible under social and 'racial' separation, how agreed divergence in the material is compatible with cultural equality and equal opportunity, how spiritual equality can be squared with religious divergence, what race-purity and race-pride mongrels have to preserve?

But for those who can pierce the cloak of rhetoric, the evident intention of all this honeyed hypocrisy is clearly animated, as R. E. Park (in Reuter, 3, 1934) puts it, 'by the desire to inhibit the natives' entrance into the European social order, provided at the same time the native may be used in the capacity of the subordinate worker.' In plain language, the intention is to justify the continued exploitation of the 'backward races', to keep the native and the coloured man in his place and, as far as possible, to make him like being there.

That is parallel development to-day and will be so to-morrow. Can it be otherwise while an economically dominant and capitalist group, naturally supported by the artifices of its highly materialised religion, is the developing factor? It is a question which those deluded Negro and other coloured thinkers who support parallel development should ask themselves.

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The crowning tragedy of the situation in America, and here I suffer myself to write from the white viewpoint, is that the whites have set up a bogey which does not exist. For, as J. A. Spender (7. 1) and other observers have noted, there is no 'Black Peril' in the United States. The recorded Negroid population is only 10 per cent of the gross total,

four-fifths of it have been very considerably diluted with white and Indian genes, and even the remaining fifth is very doubtfully pure African.

Evidently the whites need not fear 'biological unfitness' from free relations with the weakly-coloured population, nor does it seem likely that the infiltration of a minority stock would 'degrade' either the physical appearance or the capacities of the phenotypical whites—if one assumes, and I definitely do not, that nigrescence is degrading and the blacks are mentally inferior. Such infiltration has been going on for centuries and continues to do so: in the South few pedigrees are above suspicion. Would it not then be wiser to accept the amalgamation which is inevitably proceeding?

Moreover, the Afroamericans are culturally Americans who have adapted themselves to New World civilisation better than many white groups. Paul Robeson may 'Want to be an African', and if the impulse leads to a better understanding of things African it will be a very worthwhile one, but essentially he will remain an American. Finally, as we have seen, the factors influencing such ethnic mixture favour the survival of white types. The Negro problem can therefore be bleached out of existence without any appreciable blackening of the whites. Rather does the 'danger' lie, then, in encouraging the growth of a socially isolated community, unnecessarily enlarged by crossbreds, which will eventually threaten American 'Nordics' much more seriously than it does now. There is no alternative to assimilation sooner or later, with the impracticable exception of wholesale deportation, which would presumably tax even the energies of a Roosevelt. Consequently, a rational social policy towards coloured Americans can only be sought in the appreciation of Goethe's familiar lines:

'Divide and rule, the politician cries,
Unite and lead, is the watchword of the wise.'

It would save much discomfort now and more in the future. For if God's Own Chillun are not freed from Nigger Hell to-day they will create a Nigger Heaven, and perhaps a White Hell, to-morrow. Slaves did something like that in ancient Rome and they might do it again in America.

That is the plain issue for Senatorial minds to tackle.

South American problems are generally attributed to mongrelisation. Here it is suggested that they are due to exploitation and geographical factors which are gradually being controlled. And with the growth of the spirit of La Patria Grande the Republics have before them a vigorous future.

II. MILLIONS OF GOLDEN BIRDS

MILLION *d'oiseaux d'or, ô future Vigueur?* South of the Rio Grande an awakening people also see millions of golden birds on the way to a vigorous future. Their visions find typical expression in Luis Valcárcel, a Peruvian whose prose often rises to the heights of Rimbaud's ecstatic verse. Here is its essence :

‘ Stretched out beneath the crushing weight of an old alien culture, prisoned in the iron band of the conqueror, the driving energy of the aboriginal soul was consumed. The protest bursts forth, and the unanimous cry echoes from crest to crest until it becomes the cosmic clamour of the Andes. . . .

‘ Culture will again come down from the Andes. . . .

‘ The Race, in the new cycle visioned, will reappear splendidly, crowned with the eternal values, with firm step toward a future of certain glory. . . . It is the avatar which marks the reappearance of the Andean peoples on the scene of civilisation.’

This spirit now throbs through a continent from Cape Horn to the Gulf of California. But for the *soi-disant* masters of civilisation the picture of South American life is dominated by the Mexico of Díaz and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. It is a confused picture of hordes of ladinos, cholos, rotos, mamélouks, caribocas,

caborés, cafuses, musties, fusties and dusties—all really too queer to be taken seriously. After all they are little more than lazy, drunken savages, *Augenblickmenschen* (if one knows a little German), fighting one comic war after another, cutting each other's throats and raping each other's wives, proving to the undefiled the awful perils of unrestricted intercourse.

I do not exaggerate: that is the prevalent picture. It is widely endorsed, too, by scientific writers. R. Ruggles Gates (3) states that the resulting products of ethnic mixture in South America certainly cannot be commended 'either for their industry, their probity, or their governmental ability'. Lothrop Stoddard (3, 1935) feels that South America 'must be governed by the strong hand, if order and social security are to be maintained'. R. C. Harris (5) and others complain that miscegenation has failed to produce 'an active, intelligent middle class', as if social stratification were a genetic function rather than a capitalist disease. Renato Kehl (5) is so disturbed by the 'non-consolidated products' of his homeland that he feels that 'the mixtures cannot be judged in comparison with any pure race', but neither says which pure race he has in mind, nor seems to know that the purest races of to-day are the most primitive.

To all this the South American may reply that it is absurd to ascribe political unrest to miscegenation; that revolutionary leaders have often been whites; that democratic government has not been pursued with success in the Balkans and Central and Southern Europe, where there have been at least as many revolutions in recent years as in Latin America; that temperamental instability is a function of social inheritance and environment, and backwardness the result of repression; that, in Brazil, 'there never was a statesman who was not a mulatto'; that, in spite of geographical circumstances and economic domina-

tion, the potentiality of the mongrel world is revealed in a new and blended art, a virile literature, an inspiring music, a developing science and growing economic perception; and that this very revival shows, as R. Broda (5) says with reference to a particular Republic, that 'racial factors, after all, were not decisive in the social immobility of Mexico.'

And the South American, except for reactionaries like Dr. Kehl, does say these things, with greater pungency than I can achieve. Listen to González Prada, a Peruvian mestizo who, with Mariátegui, González Vigil, Valcárcel, José Sabogal and Haya de la Torre, heralds the emancipation of his country from the shackles of the colonial period: 'When it is remembered that in Peru nearly all men of any intellectual worth have been Indians, cholos or zambos, when the few descendants of the Castilian nobility are seen to engender rachitic sexually perverted types, when no one can find much difference between the facial angle of a gorilla and an ancient Liñenan Marqués, there is no reason to assume inferiority of races.'

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I have taken these quotations from Carleton Beals's fine book (7. 2) on Peru. Mr. Beals himself is well worth quoting: 'The whole long history of foreign capital and trade in Peru is a tragedy of colonial exploitation in collusion with a narrow military and aristocratic clique. . . . Every development has been determined, not by Peruvian needs but by international needs. The mainspring has been quick and easy profits. All benefits have been accidental and ancillary. The communications developed, the type of resources tapped, have never been those most essential to the creation of a rounded economy, have never sought to promote the happiness of the Peruvian people as a whole, have never helped to knit the country

together or develop sound government, or create a stable economic and political situation.'

That is essentially true of all Latin America. The Spanish Conquistadores and the Portuguese pioneers shared the same Iberian civilisation, the same greed for gold, the same religion and proselytising fervour. Where the Indians were warlike, as in the case of the Auracanians, they exterminated them. Where they were peaceful and highly civilised, as in the case of the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas, they baptised them. They married them, too. For sexual relations, apart from the needs of the flesh, ensured the maintenance of vassalage and the spread of the true faith. And those who were unconcerned about the spread of the true faith were forced into marriage anyway. The Church, and the Church was the State, decreed it.

And, from the viewpoint of the Church, the system worked. It worked so well that when Spanish women went to Mexico, the Church, with the sanction of King Charles V, urged them to marry Indians of quality. So the indigenous cultures were soon degraded and the people reduced to the level, as Professor E. B. Tylor put it, of 'a low European civilisation'. They were converted into landless peons, and left to face the future inert, indolent and unable to cope with the geographical and other difficulties that affect progress in South America. They succumbed to the system of conquistador and serf, and the mestizos also became one or the other according to the circumstances of their birth. Mostly they became the other.

Of course, the system did not only degrade the serfs. It reacted on the rulers, too. They ate too freely of the honeyed lotus. They concerned themselves only with their own extravagant welfare. They left a vast gap between themselves, owning the national wealth and providing the administrative and professional services, and the hordes of illiterate serving masses. That is why there has been little industrialisation and no 'active and intelligent middle class' in

Latin America. And it has not yet recovered from the vicious cycle of economic relations imposed upon it. It remains clique-ridden and priest-ridden, even where democratic and anti-clerical legislation offer escape from the bonds of servitude and superstition. Social evolution moves slowly, but equilibrium follows disorganisation. On the horizon the rainbow shines.

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So much for the effects of the colonial period. They have been complicated by geographical position in relation to Europe, North America as a whole having a distinct advantage over the South. Also by topography, climatic factors, continued exploitation, political strong men carried along on the ebb and flow of prosperity, and all the ups and downs of mono-production in relation to international capitalist endeavour and share-pushing.

It is a complex tangle, but a few examples, for which I am partly indebted to H. K. Norton (7. 2), will suffice to illustrate the effects of the interplay of geographical and economic factors in South American prosperity.

Let us look first at Brazil. It has had a comparatively placid history. It has passed from colony to empire, from slavery to freedom, from empire to republic, with singularly little bloodshed, as compared with the prolonged warfare which marked two of these translations in the United States. To-day, it is the centre of the Lusitanian world, while industrially it ranks first among the South American Republics. It is essentially a monoproducing country, with coffee forming 75 per cent of its exports, and it has suffered the same cycle of loans, quick returns, overproduction, price reductions, distress and revolutions as the other Republics. But, in spite of the vicious Vargas dictatorship, there are forces and resources in it which indicate that it will adjust itself to a stable national life, with

internal industries that will supply its own demand for manufactured goods.

Brazil's advantage lies in its geography and demography. It is fortunately situated in relation to Europe. It is the largest country in the Western Hemisphere; it is rich in natural resources; its population exceeds two-thirds of the total population of all the other areas below the Rio Grande. There is practically no ethnic prejudice and the population is extremely mixed, some say it is ideally mixed. Whites and mestizos furnish material stimuli in its larger cities, and in the region around and below São Paulo, while Negroids and other sturdy immigrants are reclaiming the inhospitable region above Rio de Janeiro, even in the hostile Amazon Basin. That is why a Brazilian statesman, Dr. Oliveira Lima, can feel the truth of his declaration that 'In South America our experience of centuries has taught us that there is no real understanding except the one that comes through the fusion of races.'

The Argentine, too, is successful, and the Argentine is supposedly white. This circumstance suggests a simple correlation between 'racial purity' and success to many minds, but Brazil is one of the answers to that supposition. The Argentine is prosperous because Europe has a colossal appetite for beef, which the Argentine, under modern transport conditions, is able to supply quickly and comparatively cheaply. It is little more than a convenient outlying butchery for Western carnivores. So the Argentine's energies are concentrated on beef and agricultural produce in the region of Buenos Aires, where 80 per cent of its population lives, leaving its limitless Pampas to remain limitless Pampas. It has neither time nor inclination for concerted national development.

The dangers of such a situation were illustrated during the World Depression which reached its zenith in 1931. Europeans had to cut down the size of their beefsteaks and encourage home produce. And the

Argentina, like the mongrel Republics, had a revolution: whiteness and civilisation did not prevent them from having one. But money talks, and many Argentinians have money. Their millionaires live in the Savoy, hobnob in Mayfair, and are great sportsmen, which is to say that they appear regularly at Ascot and Longchamps in spats and grey toppers. So for the average man, conditioned by press lords and society snippets, the Argentine is an impressive example of what white civilisation can do. It is not easy to debunk moral cheating and wishful thinking.

Compare two backward, Indian-mestizo Republics: Peru and Bolivia. Peru is situated in the middle of the Pacific coast of South America. Its contacts with Europe or North America are necessarily remote. Its internal communications are complicated by the Andean Range, which slopes down to the east to the Amazonian network of tributaries. 'Lengthwise of the seaboard', writes P. A. Means (7. 2), 'stretch fifteen hundred miles of barren desert, interspersed with westward-dipping streaks of green, nestling in valley-bottoms', while in the bleak climate and grudging soil of the Andean Plateau 'Man has always been if not the slave at any rate the pupil of that exigent mistress, Mother Nature.' Only a fraction of its land area is therefore productive, while its metallic wealth is situated on the eastern side of the Andean wall. The attendant working difficulties can be realised from the fact that it costs ten dollars to get a ton of copper from the mines to the dock at Callao, while transshipment from there to New York only costs six dollars. Moreover, no more than a twelfth of the small Peruvian population of six millions is engaged in work which is economically productive. Also, there has been a prodigious waste of energy in prolonged boundary disputes.

In short, Peru has been crushed by the millstones of geography and demography. Its internal economy cannot be impressively developed because its resources

are slight and its population small and poverty-stricken. And it is poor because of the difficulties of both internal and external communications and the cupidity of foreign financiers. The convenient sources of its trade expansion should lie across the Pacific, but the Orientals, always small buyers, have readier access to petroleum, cotton, sugar and copper, the principal Peruvian products. But the Peruvians have the stimulus of 'salutary adversity', and if they never have the material prosperity of the Atlantic Republics, at least culture 'has again come down from the Andes'.

In the adjacent hinterland of Bolivia, which is cut in two by the Cordillera Real, communications and conditions are even worse, while boundary disputes are still more conspicuous. The Chaco War still supplies comic material for the newsreels and gold for the financiers. And perhaps Bolivia will also be encouraged to make a bid for the port of Arica, which Peru and Chile are still quarrelling about. Certainly, under the present economic system, Bolivia needs a port.

The population of Bolivia is half that of Peru, and it is said that a mere hundred and fifty thousand mestizos and whites carry the burden of economic development. Its life centres on the metalliferous Andean Plateau, 12,000 feet above sea-level, where nothing will grow, while in its rich tropical areas everything grows a little too vigorously. Moreover, these fertile lands are separated from the impoverished upland cities by a mountain wall so precipitous that no regular communications have yet been attempted. Its salvation has been Potosi, for at Potosi there is both silver and tin. Silver kept Bolivia in comparative prosperity till 1870, when the bottom dropped out of the market. After that Bolivia kept going for a time on rubber, but Malaya soon put her out of the rubber business. Then came the canning boom, and the Bolivians looked once more to Potosi. It had an

abundance of tin. It brought the notorious Guggenheim interests and another wave of pseudo-prosperity. To-day, Bolivia still lives on tin (92 per cent of its exports). But it only just lives.

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And there is Ecuador, grimmer even than Peru, less populous than Bolivia, with a considerable Negro population trying to conquer its smothering forests. Unlike Peru, where the challenge of adversity has stimulated a culture, no culture has ever sprung up there, for environmental severity seems to exceed the golden mean stressed by A. J. Toynbee (1).

It is described thus by P. A. Means (7. 2): 'Along the Ecuadorian coast, conditions prevail which accord with the usual conception of the tropical environment; for in that part of the Andean area there exist tangled forests crowded with unkempt trees draped in trailing mosses: forests where Man must combat warm, humid and enervating air and a too-luxuriant vegetation, not to mention vast stretches of marsh or of spongy, unwholesome soil. . . . The island of Puna, at the mouth of the Guayas River, presents a delightful park-like aspect, embellished by sightly trees that raise graceful heads above the general expanse of grass and low shrubs. But even this comparatively charming part of the coast is replete with swamps, formerly the abode of yellow-fever mosquitoes. . . . Coastland Ecuador . . . varies . . . within itself to a marked degree, some of it being, seemingly, almost incapable of supporting human society, the rest of it being, apparently, not unpropitious to Mankind. Yet in no part of it, so far as we now know, was any well-balanced culture produced and set upon a rational career. . . . The Ecuadorian coast is one of those habitats wherein Man was unable to progress without help from outside.'

But, the very white men will triumphantly exclaim,

there is also Chile. This thin, long strip along the Pacific coast is comparatively prosperous, evidently because it is dominantly white. Its *rotos* are more Spanish than Indian, and they are immeasurably superior in energy to the *cholos* of Peru. Rosita Forbes (7. 2) says so, every 'informed' person says so. It is saying in effect that miscegenation, where it has worked out a fairly uniform majority, is a most desirable factor. It is a case, if we are to indulge in this sort of logic, for unrestricted mixture, but we must not indulge in this sort of logic. For the superiority of the Spanish-Auracanian *rotos* must be ascribed largely to the fact that the Auracanians were hostile savages, who were practically exterminated by the Spanish, the remnants being quickly absorbed. Conquest and contact did not therefore create that prolonged inertia and psychological disturbance which follows the disintegration of an advanced culture.

Other factors also favour Chilean energy. It is true that the nitrate region in the north is the most forbidding area on the Pacific coast, but nitrate is something so desirable in terms of good returns that it stimulates effort; and the omnipresent Guggenheims are there to see that it does. Moreover, in Central Chile, luxuriant valleys offer a genial environment that is conducive to material productivity (and it is around the 'earthly Paradise' of Valparaiso that 90 per cent of the Chilean population is concentrated), while in the south there are good grazing lands which make Chile a factor in the world's wool market. One therefore appreciates why 21 per cent of its population is economically productive, against 8 per cent in Peru and 5 per cent in Bolivia.

So geographical and other conditions help a moderately balanced economy in Chile. It can maintain a fairly high standard of life on its agricultural resources, and derives considerable profit from its nitrate and other trade, which is greatly facilitated by good communications and general accessibility from

the sea. These advantages are increased by the fact that much of the Chilean exports go across the Pacific. For agriculture dominates the Oriental scene, and the Orientals are developing new ideas about agriculture—ideas that lead to nitrate.

Evidently, then, social conditions and differences in South America are not the function of colour differences, but of position and habitat and politics and the nature of earlier contacts. The argument can be extended by taking Uruguay and Cuba into consideration. Uruguay is perhaps 80 per cent 'white', and most writers speak of it as a model state that is 'almost entirely white'. Yet Uruguay is not remarkable, from the capitalist viewpoint, for its energy or its superiority to the mestizo Republics, none of which, according to Dr. Norton, have equalled its 'record of seventy-three years of unbroken warfare between two parties which, for lack of distinction in political principles, were known by their red and white badges.' But here again there is a defence, apart from discounting a capitalist writer's comments on a socialist state, and there must be no suggestion that the inferiority of whiteness is responsible for Uruguayan conditions. For Uruguay is one of the smallest countries in South America; its small population of two millions is purely pastoral; it is hemmed in by two great and economically aggressive Republics, from whom it maintains a perilous and perhaps unprofitable separateness.

Cuba appears to the popular mind as an ideal Republic, as a sort of white and mestizo Paradise where money is easily earned and generously spent. There, according to G. Manington (7. 2), 'the coloured man is seen to much greater advantage than he is where race prejudice prevails; he is more self-respecting, dresses more carefully, is more courteous, and generally conducts himself in such a manner as to justify equal treatment. The result is that even Americans learn to respect him—which is saying

much.' But, though the Cuban mestizos are not altogether undeserving of such tributes, the sceptic sees in them the influence of American interests and the belief that the Cubans are fundamentally white, in spite of the obvious fact that their culture is extensively Negroid and their inheritance mestizo and mulatto. One cannot do otherwise than suspect that American and pro-American professions of respect, and pictures of Cuban contentment and progress, are conditioned by the fact that this island is a quasi-protectorate of the United States.

And the suspicion is well founded. For the misery of the Cuban workers is a glaring indictment of American exploitation and political methods, which would be difficult to conceal even from a Havana tourist. Recently they were freed from the tyranny of Machado, 'The Puppet President of a Thousand Murders', who fled when public opinion made it impossible for America to support him further, but exploitation and maladministration continue.

The situation can be readily visualised from the following extract from a revealing study by Carleton Beals (7. 2), who quotes a Cuban professor as saying: 'All the island belongs to you Americans—90 per cent of its cultivable area is owned or leased by you. Our people are bowed beneath a tyranny as bad as that of Butcher Weyler. And Havana, lovely old Havana, is gone forever; your wealthy tourists have made it into a saloon and brothel and gambling house. . . . In the United States crime is committed by gangsters. In Cuba it is committed by the tyranny of Machado. He runs a sawed-off shotgun government. But do you know the real crime of Cuba? For nearly four centuries we were bowed down under the iron rule of Spain. For nearly a century we fought to throw off that yoke. . . . Then came America. . . . You said to free us. . . . All you did was to snatch victory from our grasp. We are bound and gagged, hand and soul we are bound. We are bound

by your dollars, by your bankers, by your politicians, by your Platt Amendment, by your greedy little politicians who pose as statesmen. Our government, our President, is but a puppet of your dirty dollars. . . . For all the blood and sacrifice of our people, of your people, we merely changed masters. We are exiles in our own land. 'That is the crime of Cuba.'

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It will be a pardonable digression if we note that elsewhere, too, there is no indication of the superiority of the whites in meeting the challenge of their social and physical environment. Newfoundland, long regarded as evidence of British achievement in an Esquimau habitat, provides an excellent example. A decade ago, John Buchan (7. 2) observed with evident satisfaction that 'Newfoundland has taken for good her seat in the Councils of the Empire', and that 'this island is the only one of Britain's overseas territories peopled entirely by British stock . . . an unadulterated strain of British lineage. . . .'

But a few years later a greater historian, A. J. Toynbee (1), was noting that 'the Island of Newfoundland is the least reputable of all the self-governing communities in the British Commonwealth of Nations'. The truth of that comment was justified in 1933, when the British Legislature passed a special Bill suspending the Newfoundland Constitution, on the advice of a Royal Commission of astonishing candour. This Commission had found that 'for a number of years there has been a continuing process of greed, graft and corruption which has left few classes of the community untouched by its insidious influences.'

In more hostile environments, white men have failed still more conspicuously to adjust themselves to a difficult life. An interesting example is provided by the descendants of Cornish fishermen who inhabit the tiny island of Tangier, off the coast of Maryland.

Their habits and living conditions are in many respects reminiscent of those on Norfolk, Pitcairn and Tristan da Cunha, but they have not succeeded like the mongrel islanders in establishing a peaceful and self-supporting society. Law and order have to be enforced by an imported sheriff, while dramatic rescues from starvation are periodically necessary.

But the most pertinent comparison for this chapter, for it illustrates the effects of mountainous conditions, is provided by the fate of the descendants of the Ulster Scots, normally a hardy and efficient people, who have clung to a bleak life in the Appalachian Mountains since the eighteenth century. Their degeneration is so marked that it moves Professor Toynbee to a long discussion in his *Study of History*.

‘Yet even in Ulster,’ he writes, ‘where political bloodshed still persists, there is no longer any survival of the family blood-feud which has remained one of the regular social institutions of “the Mountain People” of Appalachia. The Ulsterman, again, is unlikely to forget the sea . . . whereas the Appalachian, whose ancestors actually crossed the Atlantic five or six generations ago, has lost touch with the sea so completely that he no longer attaches any clear meaning to the word itself—which is preserved in his vocabulary solely through his folk-songs. In the third place, the Ulsterman has retained the traditional Protestant standard of education, whereas the Appalachian has relapsed into illiteracy and into all the superstitions for which illiteracy opens the door. His agricultural calendar is governed by the phases of the moon; his personal life is darkened by the fear, and the practice, of witchcraft. He lives in poverty and squalor and ill-health. In particular he is a victim of hook-worm: a scourge which lowers the general level of vitality in Appalachia just as it does in India and for the same reason. . . .

‘In fact, the Appalachian “Mountain People” at this day are no better than barbarians. . . . (They

are the) *ci-devant* heirs of the Western Civilisation who have relapsed into barbarism under the depressing effects of a challenge which has been inordinately severe; and their neo-barbarism is derived from two sources. In part, they have taken the impress of the local Red Indians whom they have exterminated.¹ Indeed, this impress of Red Indian savagery upon the White victors in this grim frontier-warfare is the only social trace that has been left behind by these vanquished and vanished Redskins. For the rest the neo-barbarism of Appalachia may be traced back to a ruthless tradition of frontier warfare along the border between Western Christendom and "the Celtic Fringe" which had never died out among their ancestors in the British Isles and which has been revived, among the Scotch-Irish settlers in North America, by the barbarising severity of their Appalachian environment.'

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In comparison with such an example, black failures to overcome environmental vicissitudes fade into insignificance. Racial writers never mention such groups as 'the Mountain People', but few have refrained from using Liberia as a warning to those who believe in Negro initiative and capacity for administration. The literature (e.g., Reeves, 7. 5) on the backwardness of Liberia is typical of prejudice rationalised by the application of the technological

¹ Professor Toynbee's footnote, quoting F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Holt, New York, 1921): 'The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilisation and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick; he shouts the war-cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man.'

standard and divorced from historical, geographical and economic backgrounds.

I do not need to defend Liberia, for a Liberian, N. Azikiwe (7. 5), has done that very ably, but it is necessary to point out that this West African Republic originated with a colony of liberated Afroamerican slaves, organised by inadequately financed charitable endeavour in 1821. It was declared an independent State twenty-six years later, and has therefore had less than ninety years of freedom in which to recover from the original handicaps of slave tradition and lack of finance. The people suffer, too, from an enervating climate, a grudging soil, marked hostility from the savage aboriginals, and much foreign exploitation, the Firestone Company practically owning the whole State. 'Considering all things,' writes Lady Dorothy Mills (7. 5), who endeavours to be as impartial as she is adventurous, 'internecine warfare, boundary troubles, financial and educational disabilities and lack of previous experience, I think that it is surprising and admirable that she has done so much.'

Haiti, to which some reference has been made previously, is the other 'classical example' of black inefficiency and fiendish cruelty, while Jamaica is often unctuously cited as a splendid illustration of what Negroes can achieve under white supervision. One detects in this attitude the memory of mulatto economic successes in the eighteenth century, and the crushing victories over the Spanish and the French, which together form the genesis of modern Haiti. For, whatever may be said of the technological backwardness of Haiti, it has had a remarkable history, and is in many ways superior to Jamaica. Culturally there is no comparison. The Haitians have a distinct and growing culture and a record of intellectual achievement which only occasional Jamaicans of any colour have approached. And as for Haitian ferocity, it was learned from the Spanish and the French in an age when torture and massacre were everyday amuse-

ments. 'In fiendish cruelty', writes H. P. Davis (7. 2), 'there seems to have been little to choose between the whites and the blacks. The French burned captured Negroes alive, broke them on the wheel, or buried them to their necks in sand and poured melted wax into their ears.'

In Jamaica, too, the blacks have demonstrated a salutary capacity in the past to organise themselves against white aggression, as the history (Olivier, 7. 2) of the Rebellion of 1865 (in which the mulatto 'ringleader', George William Gordon, was so vindictively victimised by the Carlylean hero, Governor Eyre) suggests. A still better example is provided by the Maroons, whose slave ancestors saw in the English conquest of the Spanish an opportunity for freedom. In the ensuing dislocation they fled to the mountainous interior, where they held their own against the whites for over a century. Overwhelmingly outnumbered by better armed troops, yet they were never conclusively defeated, though they eventually compromised under seemingly favourable terms. By the treaty of 1738, they were guaranteed freedom and a special reservation, where they lived harmoniously under their own chiefs for some fifty years.

But, as exploitation proceeded, it became increasingly necessary in British opinion to deprive the Maroons of their freedom and rights. Unjust persecutions, floggings and imprisonments were started in 1795, and a large and peaceful deputation, which had hoped for justice from the English, met the reward of being clapped in irons. Thoroughly enraged, the small band of remaining Maroons put up a resistance which took several months and much treachery to overcome. Six hundred were deported in 1796 to Nova Scotia, where those that were not later sent to Sierra Leone have blended with the population, while the remainder have found a place as British subjects in Jamaican life. British administrators and historians, following the custom of paying tribute to

an opponent who has been successfully tricked out of the way, now regard the Maroons as a healthy element in Jamaican history, as they supposedly prevented the dysgenic formation of a society composed solely of slave-owners and slaves!

But the real factor in maintaining the balance, the 'organic efficiency', of the capitalist economy in Jamaica, has been the crossbreds. It is to this intermediate group that material prosperity in the British West Indies as a whole is most indebted. They are the essential cogs in the economic machine, the links between white driving control and black steam. That is sufficiently evident from the relative proportions of the principal elements of the population, which are, in Jamaica itself, whites 2 per cent, mixed 20 per cent, blacks 75 per cent and Asiatics 3 per cent.

It is for this reason that there is a growing spirit of liberality, provided it is not too liberal, in the British attitude towards the Jamaican coloured, which has in turn conditioned freedom from marked inter-racial savagery—a fact which explains the absence of the sexual offences so frequent in the United States. This recognition of the importance of hybrid Jamaicans has led to increased educational facilities, and their response to such opportunities is perhaps a better guide to their mental capacity than the limited intelligence tests which have been applied. Their physical appearance, too, is impressive, the women being often very beautiful, even when there is 'only a touch of white blood'. Mary Gaunt (7. 2) emphasises this point, as others have done, and supports it with a portrait of a strikingly beautiful mulatto girl.

On the whole, therefore, ethnic mixture in Jamaica has been, in the accepted sense, eugenic, though social conditions have not encouraged cultural development as in Haiti or in the French Antilles. One may agree whole-heartedly with Lord Olivier (3, 1929) that 'it is certain that from the point of view of social vitality and efficiency, it is not the mixed coloured

class, if any, that is decadent in physique, intelligence or energy in Jamaica.' He adds, cautiously, that there is no 'demonstration that interbreeding is, apart from the reactions of prejudice, necessarily an evil. It would consequently appear reasonable that where we have such a community we had better make up our minds not only not to despise the offspring of the illegitimate interbreeding that invariably takes place and will continue to take place in such conditions, but to make our account for a certain amount of legitimate and honourable interbreeding, and to look upon it as not necessarily or primarily a misfortune, but as more probably an advantage.'

W. M. MacMillan (7. 2) independently endorses these opinions. Pseudo-scientific judgment, he writes, 'on the undesirable mental and physical consequences of race mixture will have to take fuller account of able and efficient coloured people in the West Indies who lose nothing by comparison with men of pure European stock.'

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Finally, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that radical ethnic mixture is in so advanced a stage in South America as a whole, and in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, that attempts to foster racialism in such an area are aids to Euramerican exploitation which are as dangerous as they are ludicrous. It is difficult to estimate the actual extent of miscegenation in South America, for the Census is a luxury in most of its countries and demographers are necessarily few. But I have succumbed to the temptation of trying to tabulate it on the next page. It is neither an accurate nor a comprehensive table, but where it errs it does so in overestimating the 'pure' classes, each of which is undoubtedly enlarged by ethnic recusants.

To elaborate and plot this table on a map would be interesting. It would show that the dominant basis of the populations from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn

ETHNIC RATIOS IN SOUTH AMERICA

(In percentages of total populations. C.=Census.)

This table has been compiled with the aid of H. Decugis (3), C. F. Jones (7. 2) and R. Kuczynski (2).

Country	Popula- tion (millions)	Year	White	Indian	Mest- izo	Mul- atto	Negro	Asiatic
Argentina	. 13.7	1933	88	2	10	—	—	—
Bolivia .	. 3.1	1932	10	50	38	←—2—→	—	—
Brazil .	. 43.3	1933	30	10	35	←—25—→	Some	—
Chile .	. 4.3	1930c	30	5	65	—	—	—
Colombia	. 7.9	1928c	10	2	53	←—35—→	—	—
Costa Rica ¹	. 0.5	1927	←—5—→	←—90—→	5	—	—	—
Cuba .	. 4.0	1933	20	—	←—60—→	20	—	—
Dominican Republic	. 1.2	1932	4	—	←—92—→	4	—	—
Ecuador	. 2.6	1933	5	35	40	15	5	—
Guatemala	. 2.3	1934	5	45	50	—	—	—
Guiana, British	. 0.3	1931c	5	—	←—50—→	45	—	—
Haiti .	. 2.5	1929	Some	—	—	40	60	—
Honduras	. 0.9	1930c	2	6	←—90—→	2	—	—
Honduras, British	. 0.05	1931c	←— Almost entirely mixed Indians —→					
Mexico	. 16.6	1931c	4	36	60	—	—	—
Nicaragua	. 0.8	1930	5	Mostly mestizo, mulatto & zambo				
Panama	. 0.5	1930c	16	10	←—56—→	16	2	—
Paraguay	. 0.9	1932	2	Dominantly Indian but many zambos and mestizos				
Peru .	. 6.2	1927	10	50	35	←—2—→	3	—
Porto Rico	. 1.5	1930	70	—	—	←—30—→	—	—
Salvador	. 1.5	1930c	←— Mostly mestizo —→					
Uruguay	. 2.0	1934	80	2	18	—	—	—
Venezuela	. 3.3	1932	10	10	70	←—10—→	—	—
West Indies, British :								
Bahamas	. 0.06	1933	←— Mixed Negroid population —→					
Barbados	. 0.2	1933	7	—	—	23	70	—
Jamaica	. 1.1	1933	2	—	—	20	75	3
Leeward Is.	. 0.13	1933	2	—	—	23	75	—
Trinidad	. 0.5	1934	2	—	—	←—68—→	30	—
Windward Is.	. 0.2	1932	4	—	—	26	70	—

¹ An estimate by Loyo (cf. Kuczynski) gives : 'whites' 90 per cent, Indians 3 per cent, mestizos 3 per cent, mulattoes 2 per cent, Negroes 2 per cent.

is Indian, though the pressure of white and black in certain areas introduces a tendency to zonation. The black zone begins in the hostile environment north of Rio de Janeiro and extends upwards, through the West Indies and along the Caribbean coasts, to the Southern States of America. It is greatly diluted by both Indians and whites, and is only significant, among the mainland Republics, in northern Brazil and Colombia.

Elsewhere the Negro element is being rapidly bred out. In Mexico, for example, where it was once strongly represented, E. Gruening (7. 2) states that it has largely disappeared. There, it may be added, whites are also being eliminated, a reduction from 20 to 4 per cent being recorded in the last century. Yet Mexico has officially shaken off the stranglehold of Christian superstition and is definitely progressing both culturally and economically. As J. H. Jackson (1) writes, it 'will never again be a political province of Spain nor an economic province of the United States, nor a park for a few slave-owning landowners. Mexico will be a nation in every sense of that word, a country with a distinctive civilisation capable by its distinctiveness of playing an integral part in the complex pattern of world civilisation.'

The white zone extends from São Paulo to Buenos Aires on the Atlantic side, a smaller and unconnected zone being found in the region around Valparaiso on the Pacific coast. It is more strongly diluted than the black zone, for whiteness is very liberally construed in South America, thousands of mestizos and mulattoes being accepted as white. But, at the same time, it is being progressively 'Aryanised', through social selection and heavy immigration in recent years. Oriental elements are also concentrated in certain areas, while stray Chinese are found in most parts of South America, particularly in the Caribbean region. Japanese are found in large numbers in Peru and in the vicinity of São Paulo, while in the British West Indies and in

British Guiana there are strong East Indian labour and petty trading groups.

But, on the whole, an ethnic map of South America would reveal a general unity of type, an Indian-Mediterranean type reminiscent of a vast Eurasian community, as is to be expected when the similarity of the contributing ethnic groups is considered. Other factors also emphasise this resemblance. For the basis of Latin American civilisation is Iberian, its culture largely French, its religion Catholic, its commercial enterprise dominantly British and American. Politically the resemblance ceases, for the Eurasians are unaccustomed to military dictatorships on the one hand, and to pockets of socialist administration on the other.

In the circumstances, it is at least as easy to imagine an united Latin America, as it is to visualise 'The United States of Europe', and it is evident to the most casual student with no axe to grind that the future of the Republics lies not in individualism but in harmonious federation. Yet, while discriminating critics wax enthusiastic over the ideal of European, and even of Euramerican, unity, numerous studies stress the practice of 'lumping together, as Latin America, thirteen highly individualistic and nationally-minded Republics' as insulting to the countries concerned.

But these sensitive concerns for national sentiment are American and British ; and American, particularly American, and British investors have a lot of capital sunk in Latin America. And while the Republics remain what they are, exploitation can proceed merrily apace. The industrial pioneers represented by Mr. John Benn (7. 2), who found the building of the Panama Railway, at the human cost of 'a Chinaman buried for every sleeper along its length', a profitable and altogether 'most remarkable feat', can then continue to regard them as 'extraordinarily exhilarating' markets of the future. Unfortunately for the patriotic aspirations of the House of Benn, however,

the divided Republics are likely to remain most exhilarating for the United States, even though the early Southern plan to establish, in accordance with Providential intent, 'a vast, opulent, happy and glorious slave-holding Republic throughout tropical America' is now unlikely to materialise.

So it is easy to understand the purpose of Lothrop Stoddard's flattering statement (3, 1935) that Chile, Uruguay and the Argentine 'alone can be depended upon for constructive opposition to Asiaticism, Indianism, mongrelism, and Communism; against all those retrograde or destructive forces which threaten Latin America with further disruption and with possible dissolution. North of the antipodes there is nothing solid and enduring until we reach the frontier of the United States.' So it is easy to realise why he finds it impossible 'to envisage the Indian dominating whole countries connected with our world, and remoulding those lands to suit his special mentality'.

The plain purpose of Mr. Stoddard's literary exercises is behind most interpretations of conditions in South America, but its politicians and 'spoils-men' are apparently too much preoccupied with personal aggrandisement, or the childish compensations of nationalism, to appreciate it. Political catarrh is a prevalent disease, and in the running noses of the world's Stoddards there are constant sources of infection. But immunity is possible.

And the friends of the mongrel countries must hope that they will become increasingly immunised against the insidious germs of racialism, political division and foreign exploitation, that the mutual interests of proletarian and petit bourgeois parties, which already find expression in such organisations as the National Liberation Alliance of Brazil, will bind them together in a truly victorious People's Front for unity and freedom.

Then their millions of golden birds will really spread their now fluttering wings.

*We have tomorrow
Bright before us
Like a flame.
Yesterday
A night-gone thing
A sun-down name
Broad arches above the road we
came.*

Langston Hughes.

12. PRECEPTS AND POLICIES

OUR journey ends. We have travelled far and perhaps we have 'discovered something'. Enough, apparently, to frame some tentative precepts and suggest some fruitful policies.

The basic precepts are these. Both radical and related miscegenation are much more extensive than is commonly supposed, not only between white and coloured populations, but also between the coloured peoples themselves, the millenia over which the processes of fusion have been spread resulting in so inextricable a mixture of racial elements that it is no longer possible to speak with precision of pure and hybrid populations. To-day there are no half-castes because there are no full-castes.

Accepting the invalidity of the racial view, it becomes clear that the attributes and status of marginal communities are essentially functions of their physical and social environment, and not of Divine displeasure or some mysterious incompatibility of 'blood', a fluid which has nothing to do with informed social discussion. Certainly, there are disharmonic and socially maladjusted individuals in such communities. Perhaps, too, their incidence is higher than it is among more integrated groups, though that remains to be proved, but they are susceptible to the same methods of improvement that are applied to 'pure' peoples.

I subscribe without qualification to the prevention of undeniably dysgenic matings, whether exogamous or endogamous, but not to the conceit that colour and economic success are indices of desirability.

So much for generalities. Let us now look back on the trends of the communities whose members are colloquially regarded as half-castes. Their most significant characteristic, from the Creoles and Cajuns of Alabama (H. M. Bond, 5) to the polyglot crosses of the Pacific, is the tendency to form distinct ethnic groups socially allied to the ruling classes, but inclining to submergence in the numerically preponderant stocks. This isolation is usually maintained for considerable periods, the cultural endowment of the economically successful stocks being perpetuated long after their physical legacies are no longer discernible, as in the case of the Goans or Macanese.

Miscegenation therefore plays an important part in cultural diffusion, but its physical effects are often not so conspicuous because of the greater complexity of the influencing circumstances. Apart from the factors of qualitative and quantitative inheritance, they are fundamentally determined by selection and relative numbers, a period of high initial variability being followed by greater uniformity, characterised by increasing resemblance to the quantitatively dominant type, though social selection may prove a formidable resisting factor. Thus, in a comparatively limited milieu marked by the economic pressure of alien rule, selection is so directed among the cross-breds as to produce a type bearing much resemblance to the social dominants, with whom they seek social identification while maintaining, on the whole, an intermediate status.

This is the case with the Eurasians of India, but with the eventual reversal of the balance of power their assimilation is inevitable, though they will preserve their communal identity, and perhaps extend and prolong it by further contacts with socially similar

groups, for a long time. Under conditions which do not favour such resistance, as we have seen in the history of several groups, like the Pondoland hybrids, that have soon been deprived of paternal social protection, or not been encouraged to follow an intermediate existence, as in the case of Eurasians of Asiatic paternity, the processes of reversal are naturally still more rapid. An increasing resemblance to the genetically dominant type also occurs under conditions of more or less complete isolation, as is indicated by the appearance of the islanders of Pitcairn and Tristan da Cunha.

In circumstances where the milieu is more extensive, and economic pressure is not ethnically differentiated to a very marked extent, the hybrid type is more strongly directed by sexual favour unaffected by artificial economic considerations. So intermediacy is not pronounced and there is greater resemblance to the preponderant, usually the endemic, stocks, since sexual selection is conditioned by the standards of the majority. Thus, in England, the original Mediterranean type persists after six thousand years of dilution, and there is a distinct tendency in the population to enlarge its Mediterranean elements. In Tahiti or Hawaii or Mexico, where the native women represent desirability, the mixed bloods are becoming increasingly native in aspect.

These normal trends may, of course, be upset by wholesale immigration, as has happened in the Bonin Islands, where the Japanese have practically swamped the Euro-Polynesian crosses. Again, in Southern Brazil, and still more so in Uruguay and the Argentine, immigration has directly and indirectly contributed to the increase of Latin ingredients in the genetical stew, but the surrounding Indian pressure may cause a future reshuffling of genes which will operate in favour of endemic types.

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This disposition towards reversal is so definite that it offers a tempting bait for rationalisation. It suggests a simple division of mankind into whites and near-whites, blacks, and yellows, each pursuing their own racial development, since mixture ends in a large degree of assimilation by one or the other of the parent or immigrant groups.

The idea is attractive. One could write, and in an earlier stage of my social education I did think of writing but fortunately did not, a considerable essay in support of it. Its main argument can be arranged as follows.

Broadly speaking, the ethnic elements of India, Persia, Asia Minor and the whole of the Western half of Europe are sufficiently similar to bind these areas together as a white zone, to which North America, Australia and New Zealand would be added, while existing white interests in Ceylon and the Malayan region would be enlarged by intensive colonisation and the repatriation of conspicuous yellow elements. Similar methods of purification would be applied to North America.

The Russian, Chinese and Japanese empires, in their old geographical sense, would form a natural yellow or Mongol zone, supplemented by Burma and Siam and perhaps Alaska as well. The Oceanic islands would mostly be yellow or white, according to existing interests and their proximity to the zones concerned. Latin America and the West Indies would be a problem, which would probably have to be solved by dividing it among the three new species of mankind. We are now left with Arabia, Africa and the adjacent islands—an obvious black zone to be graciously developed along pastoral lines under an aloofly altruistic white mandate. Some oddments and remnants still remain, but they would offer no serious obstacle to the ingenuity and determination which the enlargement of such a plan

would require. For example, groups like the Australian Blackfellows would be quietly liquidated, while breeding experiments and extermination would adjust the pygmy tribes to the new social order.

In these zones, their inhabitants would live in idyllic and constructive peacefulness, developing their environmental adaptations so that vast additional areas would come under development. Thus, with the preservation of the Negro's adaptations to African life, the black continent would be converted into a highly productive farm, a colossal reservoir of food supply for the new 'world consortium', while Esquimaux fitness for Polar colonisation would be utilised for fruitfully populating enormous tracts that now lie waste. War would be automatically outlawed, since everyone would be comparatively prosperous and presumably content.

And, in this way, the three main divisions of humanity would grow into true zoological species, highly specialised for getting the best out of their respective habitats. The encouragement of mixture within the zones would hasten this specific growth, while the prospect of interzonal mixture would be scientifically eliminated. Interzonal migration would not only be stopped, but would be rendered unnecessary by population control, through a central authority, and the extension of internal prospects for successful colonisation. Many individuals would, of course, have to maintain interzonal contacts, but public opinion would check any sexual indulgence to which they might still be inclined, while the availability of simple contraceptive measures or temporary sterilisation would safeguard racial purity from those who are inclined to remain intractable.

There remains the question of internal reconciliation in the preparatory stages of zonal construction. Integration within a zone would begin with a Federation of States, in which national egotisms would be supplanted by a larger racial pride, Nordicism in

Europe, for example, being enlarged to the more comprehensive spirit of Aryanism, anyone who is ostensibly white, even if only in a brunet way, being an Aryan. It would call for a remarkable will for the abdication of 'sacred national interests' and subordination to the general racial good, which it might be necessary to quicken by suppressing the intellectual heirs to the comic figures who now strut the political stage in Europe.

The germs of this spirit of 'ultra-imperialism' are already growing. The idea of Western comity, even of a 'Pan-European race' (R. Ketels, 3), is taking shape, the League of Nations, for all its ineffectuality, supposedly being the first spark of a welding flame. In the East, the synthesis of Russia, China and Japan can be visualised as an event of the comparatively near future, whether through Japanese aggression or Soviet precept need not concern us here. And 'Africa for the Africans' is a slogan that strikes a responsive chord in a myriad black hearts.

Indeed, it is not difficult to persuade oneself that an established Western unity, with its command of technical advantages and compulsions, could secure this new world order within a generation, and ensure its perpetuation by a reorientation of the social complex which would provide for the greater function of intelligence. Perhaps William McDougall's proposal (4, 1924) to divide society into two main groups, between whom intermarriage would be prohibited, would be adopted. They would represent the governing intelligentsia and the disfranchised morons, 'the illiterate, the criminal and the defective'. It would be an accommodating class system working, in an atmosphere of vastly increased educational and social opportunity, towards eventual uniformity. Thus, the top grades of the lower class would gradually rise into the upper, through an intermediate and probationary class, while evidence of unfitness among individuals in the upper class would result in relegation

to the lower. And in this way the incidence of the disfranchised would be gradually decreased, the *via eugenesis* being further enlarged by such measures as sterilisation, eutelegensis or 'creative' and controlled artificial insemination, and discreetly hygienic extermination.

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These are large and somewhat fantastic visions, but they are being increasingly circulated in the public mind. They follow, it is said, certain observed trends and avoid many impediments to indiscriminate internationalism. Their rough corners can be smoothed by co-operation and discussion. They may stimulate peace on earth and good-will among men.

It might not be a lasting peace but it may be a long one. And when the racial clash does come, it can be regarded as a new step in the direction of greater uniformity and internationalism. So racial development, in the opinion of those who support it, may be the way for mankind to give a consciously purposive direction to its own evolution, to use the gifts of material and intellectual advance to secure a larger measure of peace and prosperity. Perhaps there are other ways, but with incalculable billenia before it why should not humanity try this way if it offers real hope of success?

Let us therefore examine the major obstacles to its progress. They are the devices for aggrandisement, resident in a capitalist society, which are presented to that purblind innocent, the man-in-the-street, as essential to a worthy civilisation. Hypnotised by political forms that give a feeling of social liberty, he fondly believes himself to be free, but is moulded from infancy in the pattern which renders him least resistant to exploitation. The schools, the churches, the press, the new forces of wireless and the cinema, all the avenues of education and employment, are the instruments of the rulers and parasites. And,

functioning hypocritically with the aid of such emotional devices as loyalty, patriotism and spiritual solace, they inexorably condition the public mind into devoted acceptance of the principles the financial and ecclesiastical barons naturally desire to impose.

They make a farce of the vote and sterilise the possibility of social transformation through constitutional reform. But they are clever enough to make 'liberty' the most cherished word in the vocabulary of the enslaved voter, especially among the English serfs, who do not know Rousseau's taunt (how could they?) that 'The English people fancy they are free. They greatly deceive themselves. It is only during the election of Members of Parliament that they are so.' And if Rousseau had lived to-day, and known all the ballyhoo and subtle compulsions and *Daily Mail*-ings of election time, he would surely have said that they are not free even then.

Few escape these forces, for few can resist the barking and whining of capitalism's bawling bitches. They can make the majority regard the fabulous and vicious expenditure on armaments as unavoidably necessary for social and national defence. They can achieve the singular phenomenon of condemning millions to be blown to hell and liking it. They can prevent men from seeing that armies are the bloodhounds and spaniels of Big Business, that 'War is the trade of Kings' and vulgar capitalist cliques. They can make men feel that they are protecting their homes and keeping the world safe for democracy.

Above all they can make men feel that the economic domination of the white ruling classes is essential to the material and moral progress of the world. In this aspect of the gigantic game of bluff the Churches are willing and powerful allies, for religious obedience at home and proselytisation abroad depend on the continuance of capitalism and imperialism. The coloured dupes of Christian concern for their spiritual welfare should find some food for thought in the

argument for white supremacy contained in *The Tablet* for September 23rd, 1933. 'The Church', it writes, 'knows the moment has not yet come for the cessation or even for the large abatement of White Paramountcy in world-wide Christendom. The Eternal Word of God might have chosen to become incarnate in the womb of a black or yellow or red or copper-coloured Mother; but He did not so choose. The Angel of Annunciation delivered his message to a White Maid in a white man's land; and therefore it is no white arrogance but a reverent and dutiful obedience to the course marked out by Divine Providence which requires white men to wield the hegemony of Christendom. The choicest of non-white Christians know this and are content. . . .'

So it is impossible to visualise the victory of reason, the abrogation of selfishness and privilege, within the structure of capitalist society. Indeed, as R. Palme Dutt (1) shows, that structure is clearly doomed, even on a more reasonable and internationalised basis, for it contains within itself the elements of destruction. It is true that there is a development in the direction of international capitalism, ultra-imperialism and other alliances to save existing foundations, but it is proceeding, as Lenin said, 'under such stress, with such a tempo, with such contradictions, conflicts and convulsions—not only economical, but also political, national, etc.,—that before a single world trust will be reached, before the respective national finance-capitals will have formed a world union of "ultra-imperialism", imperialism will inevitably explode, and capitalism will turn into its opposite.'

In this conception of world development, the idea of tripartite evolution is revealed as an uncritical product of Western thought, concerned with the continuity of Western capitalist domination. It not only postulates the ethnomania of Western superiority and the control of the 'inferior black race', whose intellectual progress would naturally

be curbed in such circumstances, but also contains the implicit suggestion that in the economic relations between whites and yellows the advantage would remain on the white side. It seeks to develop a dangerous racial pride among a people already aggressively infatuated with their own technological triumphs. It proposes to restrict human contacts in an age which offers the prospect of world-wide relations on an unprecedented scale.

It aims, too, at reversing the biological processes of racial disintegration, which has followed that of racial formation, by deliberately entering into a phase of isolation in the hope that men may not only become clearly demarcated racially but even specifically, thus fortifying the white position still further. In a word it stands condemned as a garnished defence against coloured progress, a defence that, with the peculiar temper of Western civilisation, is pregnant with the possibility of developing into an incredibly bloody and ultimately ineffectual offence.

§

We go on, then, to the exploration of a seemingly Better and Braver New World on which to expend our energies and capacity for sacrifice.

We shall approach it first by resuming our discussion on the effects of miscegenation. From the susceptibility of marginal communities to assimilation, it seems to follow that the influence of crossing on the slow processes of physical evolution is necessarily small. On the other hand, we have observed that it has already destroyed the concept of race, and that it produces a significant increase in the potential variability and adaptability of a people, thus increasing the scope of selection and evolution. Intermediate types, stubbornly addicted to the traditions of the paternal stocks, are established, but the trend is

always towards greater uniformity, specialised characters being rapidly bred out.

This trend, as we have seen, is not only the function of biological factors. Economically and socially, too, there is 'an intense pressure towards uniformity', which B. Schrieke (3) stresses in his study of ethnic relations in America. It is the pressure of prejudice derived from emphasis on 'standardised' culture and behaviour patterns set by the dominant exponents of an irrational and defective social system. The result is that many members of oppressed groups and weak minorities seek to escape social ostracism and economic exclusion by adapting themselves to the traditional mould, by 'passing' and attempting to pass, while those to whom this procedure is repellent or physically impossible, console themselves by propagating such defence mechanisms as communalism and 'race consciousness'. So we find, in the effects of prejudice, the paradox of a movement towards uniformity offset by determined resistance to the amalgamation on which uniformity depends, with the balance seemingly in favour of eventual universality. While prejudice therefore has some integrating value, it cannot be rationally justified on these grounds. It would be more productive, from the viewpoint of the very attitude and urge it indicates, to fight for its replacement by unrestricted ethnic and social contacts within a developed socialist economy.

And that such a struggle is inevitable, and must inevitably end in the victory of socialism, the dialectical view of history leaves no doubt. Its conception of development, as T. A. Jackson (1) writes, postulates that 'unity is continually resolved into opposition, and opposition (action and reaction) constantly resolved into unity again. It has as its core the notion that all Things *act* and are *acted upon*, that each thing is not only *What it Does*, but also *What is Done to It*; that out of this perpetual interplay of opposites, old forms are constantly being destroyed and new forms

are as constantly being brought into being.' The appreciation of this dialectical progression through conflict reorients the interpretation of the many contradictions associated with the study of any problem and assists the recognition of 'old forms'.

Consequently, we not only see a movement towards a classless society, but also towards that greater biological and cultural uniformity, in a dynamic and not a static conception, upon which the fullest development of such a society must necessarily depend. We see, too, that hybridised groups are essential stages in the process. Already they represent modified ethnic types that are superior, by reason of greater adaptability and wider culture, to the more specialised types with which they compete. Moreover, it must also be assumed that the modified type will themselves carry forward the processes of fusion, an increasingly enlarged homogeneity being secured as contacts increase. Indeed, even at this stage, our surveys indicate a very striking resemblance, both cultural and physical, between these types, irrespective of the geographical areas they occupy.

In fact, we have made the interesting discovery that peoples similar to the Eurasians may be observed everywhere, perhaps owing to the dominance, as J. R. de la H. Maret (3) suggests, of the original Southern or Neanthropic type of humanity, the wide dispersal of Eurasiatic and Mediterranean characteristics, and the instability of the specialised Negro features. This instability is aided by the fact that the blacks, like any other 'race' to-day, are not genotypes but phenotypes. Even in Africa, a large majority of the population has received white genes through crossing with Hamitic and other peoples, supplemented in the last few centuries by direct contact with groups more usually regarded as white. The Mongols, too, have been diluted with both white and black genes, while the 'Aryans' have been considerably dearyanised through black and yellow infusions. So it is not

surprising that in crosses between these groups there is a tendency for types to emerge which resemble each other.

In this connexion, V. Suk's work (5) is of interest. He demonstrates the occurrence of facial types associated with a particular ethnos in groups that are regarded as widely separated, European features, for example, appearing among 'pure Negroes' in Africa and aboriginals in the interior of Celebes. He attributes such phenomena, believing that the possibility of crossing is excluded from the examples he cites, to the reappearance of the limited number of facial types which characterised early physiognomic differentiation in Man. The explanation would be more complete, however, if we suppose that crossing, even between allied phenotypes with a mixed genetic history, stimulates reversal to one of a few and necessarily rather similar ancestral facial types produced by isolation and selection. And the type which seems to emerge most frequently as the result of mixture is that of the Mediterranean 'race'. Considering that it is also a highly favoured type in sexual selection, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Universal Man of the future, as visualised by F. Ratzel (2) and others, is destined to be recognisably Mediterranean in aspect. But this is pure conjecture.

My own inclination, then, is to associate myself with the socialistic concept of a better world, a world of equal opportunity and cordial relations in which men may mix with an intelligent freedom. And the impartial critic, reading unperturbed the biological and social signs of the movement towards universality can scarcely do otherwise. It is therefore unfortunate that internationalists have mostly supported themselves with appeals to 'Christian ideals', and other expressions of a confused ideology, while the racialists have established a material and supposedly objective appeal. Research and a balanced judgment, devoid of sentiment and passion, are the only foundations

upon which a constructive social policy can be established. It must be placed, in the words of J. Ortega y Gasset (2), 'in the hands of men really "contemporaneous"', men who feel palpitating beneath them the whole subsoil of history, who realise the present level of existence, and abhor every archaic and primitive attitude.'

The choice of an ethnic approach to a New World accordingly lies between the ideals of parallel development and free and united progress. There is also a third type of attitude towards miscegenation, but it has no philosophy and is utterly beneath contempt. It is the attitude of those, possibly in a majority, who believe that all hybrids are the work of the devil, that they inherit the vices of both parents and the virtues of neither, that they are without exception infertile, unbalanced, indolent, immoral and universally degenerate. For such 'philosophers' there is, perhaps, no cure.

§

We have been discussing theories and generalisations and long views, but not as irrelevant digressions. They have an important bearing on the purpose of this book; they affect the more immediate problems of the half-caste. For the most distant visions influence social behaviour to-day. Thought, said Emerson platonically, is the seed of action.

So we find that the idea of racial development is responsible for that large body of scientific opinion, directly affecting present social policies, which regards nearly related crossing as eugenic and radical mixture as dysgenic. To the white and near-white world it is a flattering belief, which many biologists are conditioned into accepting, though it remains unjustified by the available evidence. Unfortunately, however, the concept of evidence varies with social allegiances, and dogmatism can be readily paraded as truth.

The Eurasians of India, for example, are essentially

the products, though they have yellow and black genes, of mixture between groups of Nordic-Mediterranean origin, and it would not be difficult to present them as innately superior to the Cape Coloured or other radically mongrelised peoples. Certainly, the economic and cultural status of 'Anglo-Indians' is definitely better than that of the Cape Coloured, over whom they may also have the advantage of superior physique. But these differences must be correlated with differences in opportunity and environment rather than with inheritance, though H. B. Fantham (6. 3, 1936) believes that physical and mental disharmonies 'are shown by Coloured people living in good environments and often on a higher plane than those of the "poor whites", so that environmental factors are not the cause of the manifestations.' But Professor Fantham's views on good environments are a trifle peculiar, and he has never supported this statement (nor has any other student) with a comparative investigation of disharmony in poor whites and Eurafricans.

And if we compare the achievements and physique of Eurasians with those of the Afroamericans, the credit belongs overwhelmingly on the side of the mulattoes, so overwhelmingly that mulattoes and their friends might easily say that the Eurasians are genetically inferior. It could be easily said but not established. For the Afroamericans have had the advantage of audience, a paramount factor in achievement. There are at least a hundred Afroamericans to every professed Eurindian, and a much larger general audience in America than there is in India, where two hundred years of British rule have not only left 90 per cent of the people illiterate, but also crippled the bases of free intellectual communion.

I have deliberately made these comparisons, because the supposedly scientific attitude towards miscegenation has been largely occasioned by the 'Negro Problem' of the United States, a problem created

by white hysteria and exploitation. It has led to the rationalisation and deliberate misinterpretation of inadequate data, but the propagandists guilty of such personal and public deception see no irony in urging that judgment on the results of ethnic mixture should be based on careful and prolonged studies. Indeed, it helps them to establish an impression of impartiality, to parade theories as facts. The least that responsible scientific opinion must therefore demand from racial apologists is that, by following their own advice, they provide incontestable proof of genetic racial differences of social significance. Until then a social attitude inevitably responsible for a great deal of misery and repression, even when it is softened by admonitions like 'prejudice without arrogance', can only be regarded as intolerable, all the more intolerable because it is based on an unestablished theory against which there is a great deal of important evidence.

And the general public must learn to differentiate between scientific opinion and the opinions of scientific workers, for men of scientific occupation are not necessarily scientists in the best meaning of that term. More often than not they are superior technicians whose views outside their specialised fields, and sometimes within them, may be entirely worthless. 'A fair amount of the things', writes J. Ortega y Gasset (2), 'that have to be done in physics or in biology is mechanical work of the mind which can be done by anyone, or almost anyone. For the purpose of innumerable investigations it is possible to divide science into small sections, to enclose oneself in one of these, and to leave out of consideration all the rest.'

This is a philosopher's opinion to which many scientists have subscribed. Vernon Kellogg (quoted by E. M. East, 2), the famous American zoologist and man of affairs, writes: 'When the biologist's talk about human beings is limited to statements about

lungs and liver, skeleton and ductless glands, it is not questioned. But when the talk is about human beings, about their psychology, their heredity, their responses to environment and education, and their position in nature, then it is tested by miscellaneous personal observations and prejudices and desires and hopes and beliefs of each individual, and it is accepted or not as it confirms or contradicts each one's notions derived from these things.

So scientific workers are as prone as most men, as Sir Grafton Elliot Smith (1) put it, 'to conform to fashionable ideas and to mimic and borrow rather than make observations and puzzle out their own interpretations and evidence.' And their demand for impartiality (E. Freeman, 1) very often 'depends upon more than a desire for the sterile weighing of the merits of conflicting views. It is in practical effect a disguised plea for a prejudiced defence of one class of interests.'

The result is a formidable danger to the advancement of learning through worship of supposed authority, particularly when supported by distinguished achievements in a special technical sphere, which leads, on the one hand, to a placid acceptance of inanities as indisputable truths and, on the other, to hysterical diatribes against science, because of the confusion between scientific opinion and the opinions of 'scientists'. The education of the public mind to a reorientation of its intellectual grovelling before 'great men' is therefore an imperative necessity. It must realise that a Lord or a Bishop or a Cabinet Minister or a Nobel Laureate may, in some things if not in all, be as big a fool as Bill Smith and Angelina Jones.

§

And now let us turn from these backgrounds to the more immediate problems of mixed communities. Their eventual assimilation seems certain, but it is

equally certain that they have a long marginal existence before them, a period in which they are peculiarly fitted to play an important rôle in the amelioration of coloured life and the extension of international relations. They can, if they choose, lead social progress and check the spirit of arrogant nationalism.

For they have the unique advantage in relation to area of all the essential elements of unity. They profess the same fundamental religion, they have similar cultural traditions and social habits, they suffer comparable proscriptions, and the majority speak the same language, either as their native tongue or as a later acquisition. As communities they have more in common than most nations, or even groups within nations. Indeed, in Stalin's conception (3) of a nation, as 'a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture', a combined majority of the Eurasian groups could lay more claim to forming a 'nation' than the peoples of India or Africa.

They are ripe for federation as few other groups are, but in conditioned ignorance they go their separate ways, begging for favours and 'justice' and protection and preferential treatment, insisting on loyalty to dominant minorities or 'fatherlands' they have never seen, trampling in the dust the gifts their origin has bestowed upon them.

It is a pitiful spectacle, but not a hopeless one. For no group is entirely impervious to the fresh winds of new ideas, and those that now blow around marginal peoples are particularly strong. They are witnessing the first signs of the decay of capitalism and imperialism, they have before their eyes the growth of the ideal of equality and unity. And if they are not uniformly amentic, they will see European dictatorships and National Governments and squabbles for Markets as the last stand against socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat itself as a prelude to that genuine

and constructive socialist democracy which the new Soviet Constitution already promises. They will observe the strength of Soviet influence in South America, in France and Spain, in China and India, and even in Japan and England. They will note that wide religious differences are being broken down by the spread of Christianity, and that Christianity itself is giving way to rationalism. For it is one of the ironies of evangelism that the intelligent convert wades through the Bible to Bradlaugh and Bertrand Russell—and ends in heresy. Truly did Marx say that ‘The criticism of religion is the beginning of all criticism.’

All these things make for unity. In the United States, the Negroes are sensing their affinity with other coloured peoples. In Paul Robeson (7. 1), for example, the feeling of cultural affinity is so strong that he is convinced that a Negro could get more out of Moscow or Peking University than from Oxford or Cambridge. And because of this feeling he has been able to learn Russian, like other Negroes I know, with comparative ease, and prefers it to the English or German language for artistic expression. In fact, the idea of a coloured alliance dominates Afroamerican literature, how strongly Burghardt Du Bois’s *Dark Princess* alone will show. He also stresses this view in a short article in *The Aryan Path* for March, 1936. In South America, Manuel Ugarte’s concept of *La Patria Grande* is finding increasing favour among the intelligentsia and creating a feeling for wider relationships.

In the East, as S. Mogi and H. V. Redman (7. 3) write, ‘Emancipation from the Western imperialist dominion of capitalism, spiritually and materially, was, and is, the existing driving force behind Eastern desires which tacitly or openly are revealed in the present-day domestic and foreign policies of the nations concerned.’ This objective implements the feeling of union between large groups of the peoples of Russia, China, India and Japan, and one has only

to read a dispassionately bald economic statement like S. K. Dutta's *Asiatic Asia* to realise the inevitability of its growth. For in these countries the problems of the agrarian masses are essentially parallel, but while they have been tackled with determination in Russia, they remain a disgrace in most of the rest of Asia. So China already moves towards federated republics on the Soviet plan, which offers, to quote Mogi and Redman again, 'the best chance of really integrating the Chinese people'. Several areas, including a total population of over eighty millions, have already been Sovietised, 'where to political stability unknown in other parts of China has been added such economic prosperity for the masses as has never been known in the whole of Chinese history', in spite of the appalling difficulties so vividly described by Agnes Smedley and Anna Strong (7. 3).

In India, too, the welding influence of the new social philosophy is growing. There bazaar gossip on the frontiers dwells admiringly on the reforms beyond the mountains (J. Kunitz, 7. 4), while Jawaharlal Nehru, that 'Lenin with the Oxford accent' who is surely the most biological of Eastern leaders, uses his tremendous prestige to instruct the intelligentsia, and the children of the intelligentsia, with stimulating histories of the world (1) and ruthless dissections of social structure. The masses also feel his presence, but need little instruction. Hunger is their guide. And Nehru's rationalism and international outlook, his concept of national freedom as a prelude to social freedom and internationalism, is reflected in the philosophy of all radical thinkers in that country. They cannot help realising that for them the path of nationalism, based on the foundations of capitalist democracy, must end in a blind alley, that socialism offers the only hope of stable national independence.

Even Indian capitalists are losing their taste for British knighthoods. Some contemplate the apparent brilliance of the Land of the Rising Sun, and wonder

if a *Pax Japonica* may not be more comforting than the *Pax Britannica*—and the Japanese know that they are wondering. For Indo-Japanese cultural and commercial exchanges are advancing, and both countries feel mutuality in retaliations against white economic oppression. Count Okuma can therefore say, with some certainty of widespread appeal, that ‘the entire East is to be bound together in one heart and one mind. And I believe it is the mission of Japan to bring this about.’ T. Ishimaru (7. 3) appeals even more to an Indian audience in stating that the effectiveness of the Indian Nationalist Movement must depend on ‘military support from the outside. Japan should therefore join with Russia to provide it.’ Meanwhile, Japanese imperialism itself is being undermined by the condition and anti-facist temper of the masses, by the knowledge that ‘realistic self-interest’ should prompt harmony with Russia and equitable co-operation with China. There is also the feeling that Westernisation may not be such a good thing after all.

And, arising out of all this conflict and agreement of thoughts and ideals and interests, out of this ‘interplay of opposites’, one sees in the future the birth of Asiatic Asia, three-fifths of humanity united by the pressure of its vast proletariat and the hope inspired by the new Russia, seeking further alliances in Africa and South America, contemplating an additional outlet some day for its human energy in Australia and the Pacific seaboard of North America. Slowly out of chaos grows order. That is ‘The Menace of Colour’, a very real menace for those who feel that way about colour, a menace which racialism will accentuate, not stop.

§

In these forward movements the half-castes of the world must inescapably be caught up. If they have vision they will anticipate them, and if they anticipate they will lead. Co-operatively, in wise recognition of themselves as sons of their respective soils and fellow-

citizens of the world, they will fulfil their prophesied function as factors for peaceful progress, but by themselves they will sink.

And such co-operation is a practical and immediate necessity, within the accomplishment of a lesser Mazzini. It makes me feel that I wrought better than I knew when I suggested some years ago that Eurasians throughout the East formed a naturally composite group, united in disabilities at least, whose hope of salvation lay in the formation of a federation of autonomous Eurasian organisations, maintaining a central institution, a library, a virile journal, funds for cultural purposes, and perhaps a University to which students of all nationalities would be admitted. The proposal was received with some enthusiasm, but unfortunately the Eurasian Mazzini did not arise. It was a time of Conferences and impending constitutional changes, which focussed Eurasian lenses on Whitehall. They wanted bread, not visions. They could not see to-day with the eyes of to-morrow.

But man does not live by bread alone. So I repeat the suggestion as a realisable proposition that will lead to a fuller diet and wider culture. And I cannot say too emphatically that cultural development is more important to half-castes than vocational education and the training of skilled labourers and clerks. A Derozio, a Robeson, a C. S. Johnson is worth more to a marginal community than a hundred leaders who secure safeguards for Christianised literacy and subordinate employment. Indeed, there is a supreme danger in stabilising communal contentment at a low social level, the danger that, like Anatole France's old woman, it will live but so little.

The fundamental practical value of a Eurasian Federation lies in extension of audience, a prime necessity for the activities of both baker and thinker. To-day Eurasian genius starves in obscurity, while movements for social reform are doomed to extinction before they are born. My own schooldays were

illuminated by a Eurasian who wrote such English as would have graced a Benson. He lives, where he has always lived, in the slums of Calcutta, crushed by the grindstone of mere existence—a never-has-been and a never-will-be, because attainment implies opportunity and his environment offers him none. I have known so many Eurasians who would have risen to recognition if they had had an outlet for their gifts; a poet, too, whose words were music. He died practically unknown, the editor of a struggling weekly with a small book of verses to his credit, which is not even forgotten because it was never remembered.

I have known a dozen communal journals in the last fifteen years that have expired through lack of support, leaving Eurasian journalism to survive in three or four anæmic political sheets in Indo-Malaya, of which only *The Burma Review* (Rangoon) and *The Eurasian Review* (Penang) can lay any claim to respect, *The Anglo-Indian Review* (Calcutta) being chiefly a chronicle of the sufferings and successes of Sir Henry Gidney. Contrast this position with the four hundred or so papers and periodicals which constitute the Afroamerican press. One of its outstanding papers, *The Chicago Defender*, has a sale which exceeds that of any paper or magazine in Indo-Malaya, while *The Pittsburgh Courier*, *The Crisis*, *The Harlem Liberator*, *The New York Age*, *The Afro-American*, and *Opportunity* are read wherever there is interest in the future of the Negro.

The story of Eurasian failures in every sphere of intellectual activity can be expanded into a depressing catalogue of misery and waste. For failure is inevitable while Eurasians split themselves into microscopic groups, dependent for their very existence on the philanthropy of privileged minorities. With the best will in the world no one of these communities has the resources to stimulate a cultural renaissance, and the opportunities for Eurasian talent, or the expression of grievances and aspirations, in the larger national

milieu are distinctly limited by several factors, which Eurasians must, however, try to overcome by closer identification with the other natives of their countries.

But even so they cannot do without the extra-national extension of their outlooks. Federation would lend an added brightness to their future. Eurasian communities with a potential support of a few thousand would become a group with a vast multiplication of numerical strength, and acquire a further extension of audience through combined pressure on national opinions and gain in international sympathy and respect. Emigration, too, would not form a drain in man-power, as it now does, since the emigrant would associate himself with one of the federated groups. Viewpoints would be broadened, not only through annual meetings in different areas and the personal contacts of group-representatives, but also through the exchange of ideas and sympathies which would be brought about by a common journal. It would deal with broad issues and cultural achievement, it would encourage Eurasian talent, and it would note the progress of similar groups outside the East, to whose thinkers it would also open its columns. In this spirit of co-operation it would stimulate the world outlook of its main audience, acquire influence in the international sphere, and help to circulate ideas between nations.

And the needs and aspirations of one group would be the concern of all the others. A Eurasian grievance in India, a social movement in Singapore, an achievement in Ceylon, would be ventilated by federate activity throughout the East, and re-echoed all over the world through the power of other contacting groups. Internal national troubles and external differences would also be smoothed by the force of such solidarity. The Eurasian would become a factor in society, he would grow out of the short pants of Imperialism's coolie.

Beyond the East, too, I visualise the extension of

this independence and corporate feeling. In South and East Africa, the best part of a million Eurafricans are awakening to a new sense of responsibility and communal unity, in the Oceanic islands hybrid groups have already emerged as powerful social influences. Eurasian activity would help them considerably, and the federal idea would appeal to them, for their cultural similarity is heightened by their ethnic resemblance to Eurasians and to each other.

In South America, it is the mestizos alone who can weld the Republics into *La Patria Grande*, and they would view with added sympathy and interest the ideal of coloured unity elsewhere. The Afroamericans and West Indians have already shown their abundant interest in similarly situated peoples. In short, the richness of hybrid potentiality in a wider coloured unity must surely excite the imagination of the most phlegmatically practical man.

Everywhere unity of one kind or another is in the air. We live in an age of Popular Fronts and a growing feeling of solidarity between coloured peoples. 'Yo kin hide de fier', says a Negro proverb, 'but w'at yo gwine do wid de smoke?' Perhaps this book has at least revealed some of the smoke. That the fires will be stoked is the hope which has sustained its writing.

For so shall a living day dawn, and 'out of their agonies a rare and equal race be born.'

WORTHING—PARIS—CHELSEA :

May 1935—October 1936.

But if we turn . . . to libraries, and feel astonishment at the immense variety of books which we see there, let us only examine and diligently inspect the matter and contents of the books themselves, and our astonishment will certainly be turned in the opposite direction; and when we have observed the ceaseless repetitions, and seen how men do and say the same things, we shall pass from admiration of the variety to marvel at the poverty and scantiness of those things which have hitherto held and occupied men's minds.

Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*.

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THE primary object of this bibliography is to provide chapter and verse without the ugly and inconvenient expedient of a labyrinth of footnotes. It is also hoped, however, that it will assist the research worker and the general student who wishes to extend his reading. It therefore goes beyond the needs of citation to selected additions from the literature of the last decade or so. The somewhat arbitrary but convenient classification into annotated sections has been devised to facilitate reference, correlation between statements in the text and authorities being secured through the use of bracketed sectional numbers, followed if necessary by dates.

1. SOME BACKGROUND BOOKS

The reader who has dipped into the Wellsian trilogy will have laid the foundations for a liberal interpretation of social problems, which the works by Bertrand Russell, Fox, Freeman, Laski and Strachey should expand. Wallace's book, which is not as well known as it should be, is an intellectual feast for the rationally minded reader, while T. A. Jackson's *Dialectics* is one of those basic books that cannot be ignored. The essentials of an ethnic approach to a reoriented social picture are furnished

by Huxley and Haddon, Garth, Klineberg, and Elliot Smith, Klineberg's work being particularly informative. Toynbee's *magnum opus* in three volumes (with ten more to follow!) is a mine of information for the diligent enquirer who appreciates critical analyses combined with a quiet wit. For bringing one's history up to date the cheap and very readable volumes by J. H. Jackson and Dutt are indispensable.

A special word must be said about Jawaharlal Nehru's lucid volumes. As a simple and rational introduction to world history, they cannot be too strongly recommended, while for the coloured peoples they have an intimate interest. They are truly described as providing a superb, 'humanised' picture of social evolution, which makes other histories dull by comparison.

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2. MORE BACKGROUND BOOKS.

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3. 'RACIAL' STUDIES

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7. SOME REGIONAL SOCIAL STUDIES

I. EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

Adams, Bonn and Siegfried provide good pictures of American civilisation for the general reader. Of numerous books on Negro history and cultural achievements, the symposia edited by Young and Cunard, and the survey by Weatherford and Johnson, are indispensable. Good introductions to Afroamerican culture will be found in the works of Brawley, Calverton, Cullen, Hurston, J. W. Johnson, Locke, Loggins and Ovington. Negro novels, as Miss Barton has shown, afford interesting material for the study of the Negro outlook and are useful as contrasts to the treatment of colour problems by white novelists. The following examples are worth reading, if only as a refreshing change from the usual fiction pushed by booksellers and public libraries: W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dark Princess* (1928); Jessie Fauset, *There is Confusion* (1924) and *Plum Bun* (1929); R. Fisher, *The Walls of Jericho* (1928); Langston Hughes, *Ways of White Folks* (1935); C. L. R. James, *Minty Alley* (1936); J. W. Johnson, *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1927, new ed.); Nella Larsen, *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929); Claude McKay, *Home to Harlem* (1928) and *Banjo* (1929); G. S. Schuyler, *Black No More* (1931); Wallace Thurman, *The Blacker the Berry* (1929); Eric Walrond, *Tropic Death* (1926); Walter White, *The Fire in the Flint* (1925) and *Flight* (1926).

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